

Bob Borosage, executive director of the Institute For Policy Studies, talking with New York City Council member Ruth Messinger at the Philadelphia conference.

PLUS

Steve Talbot on the Organization of African Unity

Unions are gaining in the South

China closes down on equality

THE INSIDE STORY

Southerners want unions with clout

By Gail Robinson

"For a long time," Chris Scott of Teamsters Local 391 said, "people involved in labor in the South have been waiting for something to happen. Now everybody is enjoying the show."

The current "show" in North Carolina, the least unionized state in the country, is being presented by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). During the past two years, the IBT has added more than 2,500 new members to its rolls in the state, most in the central part.

They have organized workers at Globe Battery, which makes the Die Hard automobile battery, at Anaconda Copper and Wire, at Miller brewery and Miller Can. Efforts are underway to organize Union Carbide in Asheboro and Hanes in Winston-Salem. Despite a state law that prohibits a contract between a government and a union, the Teamsters have organized some 400 of Winston-Salem's municipal employees including its rank and file police and sanitation workers.

IBT Safety and Health Director R.V. Durham, who is president of Local 391, the largest Teamster local in the Carolinas, said there have been spurts in organizing before but the surge of the last two years is unprecedented.

"I've never seen greater interest," he said in his Washington office, which affords a picture postcard view of the Capitol dome. The Teamsters claim workers are requesting sign up cards faster than they can hand them out. A lot of those cards are going to workers in "New South" industries, but at least some are going to textile workers.

The AFL-CIO, whose affiliate unions have about 75,000 members in North Carolina, also puts a lot—though by no means all—of its efforts into textiles. Some 40 organizers are still working on J.P. Stevens in three states, and Harold McIver, organization director of the AFL's Industrial Union Department (IUD), said the AFL is organizing throughout the South. The IUD lost a representation election by a narrow margin at Burlington Industries in Kearnsville, N.C., last month. They are now appealing the election.

Observers credit the interest in unions in the South to the economy and to changing worker attitudes. The workforce is blacker, younger and more female than before and so, union people believe, easier to organize.

The Teamsters, not an AFL-CIO affiliate, have less than 15,000 members in North Carolina. But the current interest in unions seems to be benefitting the IBT as much as the AFL. Of the 32 elections in which the Teamsters were involved in 1978, they won 14, or 32 percent, the same rate as all unions for the period.

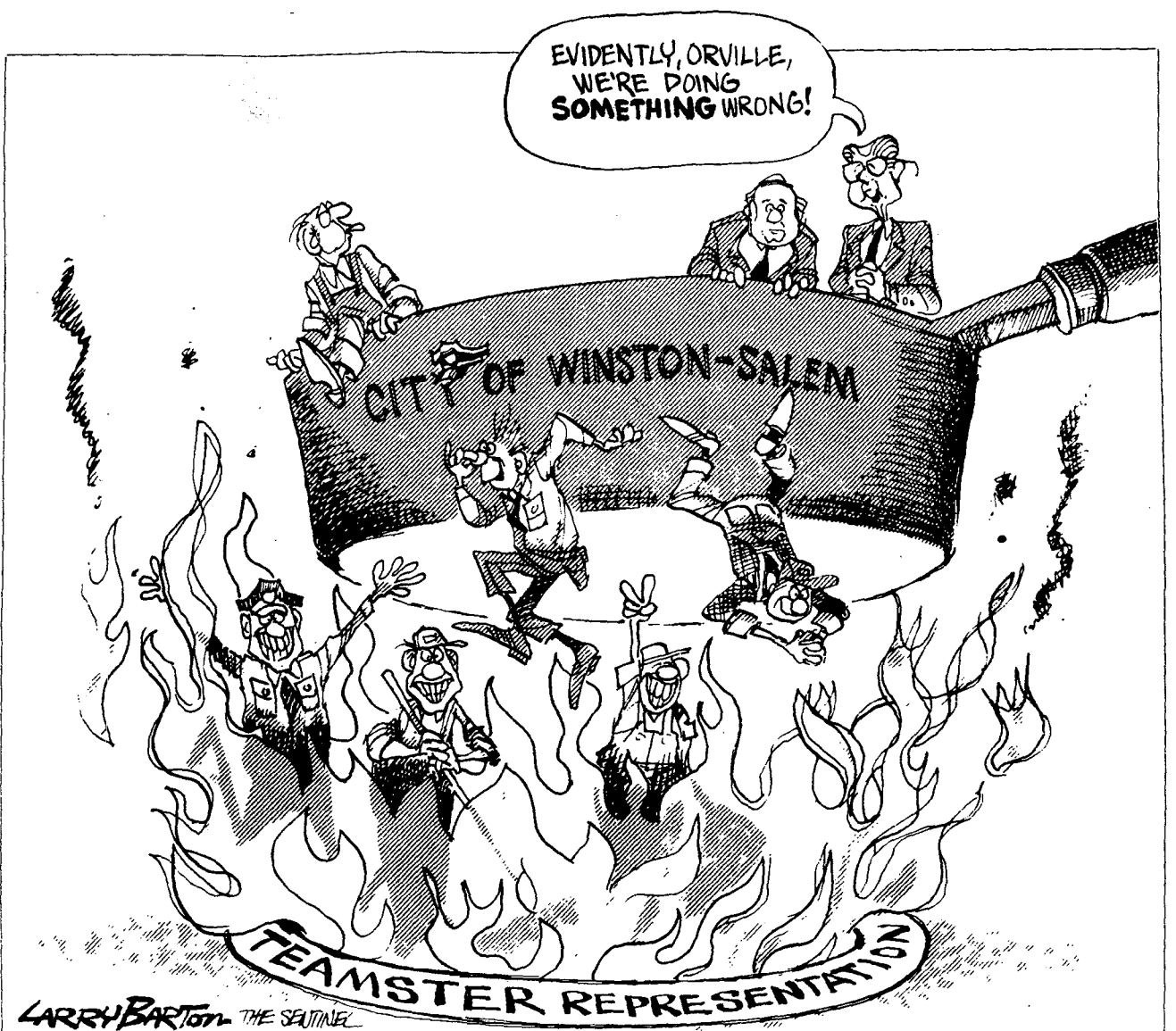
Local president Durham, a former truck driver, said the Teamsters have "been identified as a union that gets the job done. People like to be part of something that has a little vitality to it."

The source of some of that vitality is undoubtedly Vicki Sapporta, the only woman IBT organizer. Assigned to North Carolina for much of the past two years, her techniques are flamboyant.

According to University of North Carolina law professor Daniel Pollitt, a long time observer of labor in the South, most organizing unions keep a low profile. When the AFL mounts a drive, "it's a gradual long term operation. They do it secretly. They don't want to expose anyone to retaliation." But Sapporta asks workers to wear bright Go Teamsters t-shirts, has them join up right away and may stage parades or parking lot rallies. Sapporta, Pollitt said, "generates a lot of excitement."

While denying Sapporta's techniques are really much different from those employed by AFL-CIO organizers, McIver said Sapporta is a very good organizer who communicates well with workers.

Sapporta is in western North Carolina, where she recently lost an election at Fiber Industries. Further east, the 10,000 member Local 391—headquartered in



a building the size of a small elementary school between Greensboro and Winston-Salem—is in the midst of several campaigns. While its organizers may not have Sapporta's flamboyance, at least one of them—John Scott—keeps a fairly high profile.

Scott, who is organizing Winston-Salem's public employees, and local president, Durham, think people have to be made aware that the Teamsters are winning elections. And, Durham said, the Teamsters have to be visible "to try to get around the image that we lurk from the dark and are part of organized crime."

Winston-Salem's city manager has said repeatedly that it's pretty odd for police to join a union with criminal ties. And the *Shelby* (N.C.) *Daily Star* editorialized, "The public cannot afford to sit back and watch as their law enforcement officers become the foxes guarding the henhouse."

Workers in North Carolina probably aren't particularly fond of the Mob. But they do seem to like the Teamster image of toughness.

A reporter for a Winston-Salem newspaper wrote the police wanted to join the union that is "the strongest, the biggest and the meanest in the country." In *Rise Gonna Rise*, a study of Southern textile workers, Mimi Conway quotes a J.P. Stevens employee as saying, "You know if they had-a gotten the Teamsters after [Stevens], J.P. wouldn't be playing dirty ball like this ...because Mr. J.P. would have ended up in some river if it had been the Teamsters."

Scott agrees the image is a help. "Workers in the Carolinas are not against unions," he said. "They're against unions that are going to get the shit kicked out of them. People have the image that no one's going to kick the shit out of the Teamsters."

Tough or not, the Teamsters have run into obstacles. Until recently, they were unable to get companies to

sign contracts. At Coble Dairy, where there's still no contract, some workers want out of the Teamsters. PPG Industries is contesting the results of the representation election the Teamsters won. Five years ago, the Teamsters organized police in Richmond, Va. Today, there's still no contract and the union seems to have faded away.

The Winston-Salem city government charges that the Teamsters are organizing municipal employees just to get their membership dues. The government got a court injunction barring the union from entering certain city facilities or from trying to organize workers on the job and has filed suit charging the union with harassment. The Teamsters have countersued.

The organizers have had their individual problems. In May, Sapporta was charged in an alienation of affection suit that was quickly dropped but is seen by some as part of a drive to stop her and the organizing campaign.

The Teamsters are also quarreling with other unions, although publicly the Teamsters and the AFL's McIver claim disputes are few and far between. State AFL-CIO director Wilbur Hobby blasted the Teamsters for trying to organize textile workers. There was a confrontation between the Teamsters and the United Steelworkers (USW) at Miller beer. The Teamsters were angry that the USW tried to organize brewery workers who are traditionally Teamsters. The USW got mad when the Teamsters tried to organize can workers who are traditionally Steelworkers. The IBT won both rounds.

On one hand, McIver praises Teamster effort. "The more unions we have, the better it is for the labor movement," he said. But he thinks—and perhaps hopes—that the Teamsters may have already peaked. "They had a little spurt last year," he commented, "but if you look at this year, they're not doing so well." ■

IN THESE TIMES

(USPS 352 310)

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 48 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, the last week of July, the first week of August and the last week of December by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Illinois. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices: 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

James Weinstein, Editor, M.J. Sklar, Associate Editor (editorials), Florence Hamlish Levinsohn, Managing Editor, John Judis, Political Editor, Patricia Aufderheide, Cultural Editor, David Moberg, National Affairs Editor, Mark Naison, Sports, Wilfred Burchett (Asia & Africa), Diana Johnstone (Paris), David Mandel (Jerusalem), Chris Mullin (London), Bruce Vandervort (Geneva), Foreign Correspondents, Laura Cianci, Joshua Kornbluth, Editorial Assistants, Steve Rosswurm, Librarian, Ken Rattner, Proofreader.

BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, Co-publishers, Jan Czarnik, General Manager, Pat Vander Meer, Circulation, Bob Nicklas, Advertising/Promotion, Bill Rehm, Office, Bill Burr, Steve Rosswurm, Special Projects.

ART

Tom Greensfelder, Director, Jessie Bunn, Associate Director, Dolores Wilber, Assistant Director, Jim Rinnert, Ann Barnds, Composition, Pamela Rice, Camera, Ken Firestone, Photographer.

BUREAUS

SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404)881-1689. NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212)865-7638. BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 8 Thayer Place, Brookline, MA 02146, (617)738-9707. CALIFORNIA: Larry Remer, 3609 4th St., San Diego, CA 92103, (714)225-1128. DENVER: Timothy Lange, P.O. Box 6159, Denver, CO 80206, (303)333-9554.

SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh Delacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weinstein, William A. Williams, John Womack Jr.

IN THESE TIMES



James Vitarello, Community development specialist (right), Karen Kollias of HUD (center) and Jack Nichol, Cleveland Commissioner for economic development at a workshop on the Community Reinvestment Act.

A new vigor and breadth emerges

By John Judis

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

THE CONFERENCE ON ALTERNATIVE State and local Policies was begun five years ago as a forum where left-leaning public officials could develop new programmatic ideas. Director Lee Webb, a Conference founder, reasoned that a new movement could only be built out of the careful accretion of local organizing successes. Webb downplayed ideology in favor of program, and national politics in favor of local and state issues.

Conference success stories included Sam Brown, antiwar activist turned Colorado State Treasurer (and now ACTION head), Peter Shapiro, who in his twenties has already gone from New Jersey State Senator to Chief Executive of Essex County, which contains Newark, and ex-SNCC leader Marion Berry who was elected Washington D.C.'s mayor last year.

The early conferences resembled academic as much as political gatherings. Papers were given on the economics of redlining, the feasibility of state banks, and the ins-and-outs of circuit-breakers. No votes were taken, and the heart of each conference lay in the renewed association (which the conferees call "networking") among a fragmented and sometimes invisible left.

But the late 70s have brought new signs of vigor and breadth to the left. Citizens groups like Massachusetts Fair Share or Illinois Public Action, which didn't exist or were just forming when the conference began, have now won a spate of local and state victories. Several newly-elected mayors, most notably Cleveland's Dennis Kucinich, are associated with the left. And in the face of continued economic stagnation and a corporate offensive, significant parts of the labor movement have suddenly become receptive to an alliance with the movements and groups spawned by the 60s.

As this broader, more optimistic trend has taken shape, the Conference has steadily been transformed from a get-together for public officials into a town meeting for the non-sectarian left. At the 1979 Conference, held at Bryn Mawr

College Aug. 3-5, some 900 people attended, double the number at last year's conference in St. Paul, Minn. Marion Berry, Sam Brown, and Peter Shapiro were there, but they were supplemented by newer officials like Detroit City Councilman Ken Cockrel and New York City Councilwoman Ruth Messinger and by the representatives of the citizens groups and of labor.

The workshops were peppered with staff members and leaders of AFSCME, the United Auto Workers, the Machinists, and the Textile Workers. UAW president Douglas Fraser visited the conference to report on the autoworkers negotiations

and to pledge his union's participation in an Aug. 22 work stoppage to protest oil prices.

Representatives from Fair Share, the Ohio Public Interest Campaign (OPIC), the California Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), and ACORN were joined by such recent upstarts as New Haven's Community-Labor Alliance and the Long Island Progressive Coalition.

Most of the speakers, from Hartford Asst. City Manager John Alschuler to OPIC director Ira Arlook, spoke of the need for an anti-corporate movement. Where a continuing tension between the localists and the nationalists had pervad-

ed the St. Paul meeting, the speakers at this conference stressed the connection between local and national issues and the importance of national coalitions like the Progressive Alliance and the Citizen-Labor Energy Coalition (CLEC). And they openly debated the shape and ideology of the movement of the 80s.

"I expected it to be just networking," Mal Warwick of Berkeley Citizens Action said, "but this conference is much more serious."

"I thought it would be just family," Ellen Casseady of Boston's Nine to Five said, "but it is a real thing."

Continued on page 6.

Citizens party makes a bid

The 1980s, not 1980, dominated the fifth Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies. "We have to stick together for the 80s, whatever we do in 1980," DSOC's Michael Harrington warned.

But there was discussion of the 1980 elections, centered on Teddy Kennedy and the Citizens party. At a plenary, Harrington and Machinists vice-president George Poulin both argued for drafting Kennedy.

"He is not 'ours,'" Harrington said, "but he allows us the greatest chance of asking our questions. The Kennedy campaign would make it possible to introduce a new set of questions into the political debate including the question of corporate control."

Harrington was most worried about a Carter-Baker race. "If that happens, our movement is going to go in many directions," he said.

What most worried Harrington, however, least worried the seven proponents of the Citizens party who came to the conference to hand out their new working paper. A special workshop attracted over 100 conference participants.

Harriet Barlow from the Institute for Local Self-Reliance, who is co-chair of the Citizens Committee, led the workshop. Barlow explained that the Committee was planning a convention next March that would set up a party and nominate a presidential candidate.

"The organizing of the party is entirely open," she said. "I can't tell you how open our arms are." The party now has 100 sponsors, including Barry Commoner and Ed Sadlowski.

Several conference participants asked Barlow and the other Committee members what they would do in the event of Kennedy running. The Committee members acknowledged that a Kennedy candidacy would make it difficult for their party. But Don Rose reminded the gathering of the unexpected events that had plagued the 1968 campaign. "If we do not start now," Rose said, "it will be too late when we harvest the crop. I don't want to look at Carter and Baker and ask what are we going to do now."

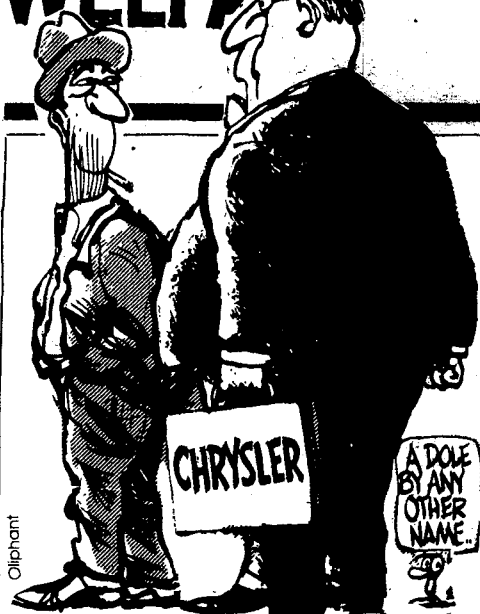
The Committee's working paper outlines a program that stresses solar conversion, women and minority rights, full employment, and citizens' control of corporations. One participant complained about a sentence that read, "There is nothing wrong with profit, or with private ownership. What is wrong is when private interest, and not the public good, determines how we live."

Rose explained that the party does not want to exclude small business and family farmers. "This effort is not pure and traditional socialism," he said. "We're trying to find a point somewhere beyond the New Deal—an American transition."



Harriet Barlow of the Institute for Local Self-Reliance, co-chair of the Citizens Committee.

WELFARE



'You, sir, are applying for welfare! I, sir, wish to receive temporary government assistance to overcome setbacks I have suffered in the dog-eat-dog arena of the market place!'

Chrysler seeks welfare

With auto contracts just beginning and a recession creeping up, Chrysler corporation's bombshell could hardly have been aimed at more volatile economic tinder: the company announced it lost \$207.1 million in its second quarter, more than in all of 1978, and that it needed an unprecedented \$1 billion in government assistance if it was going to survive.

Chrysler wants help in the form of a special tax credit that can be applied later when it makes a profit against which the credit could be assessed. It has also asked for a two-year delay in meeting federal clean air requirements and for a two-year wage freeze from its workers.

Chrysler blames its problems on the high cost of federal regulation. Safety and environmental requirements hit Chrysler, the number three auto firm but the tenth largest corporation in the country, more heavily than the other two companies because it has a smaller production run over which it can distribute certain basic costs.

But many people in the industry and critical observers outside stress instead Chrysler's bad management, its failure to develop early production capacity for small, fuel-efficient cars, its heavy reliance on big cars and other gas-eating vehicles, and its failure to develop a properly scaled-down, targeted and imaginative production and marketing strategy in the 1960s when its slump became obvious.

The response to Chrysler's plea has reflected not only varied political ideologies but also concern about the impact of the collapse of such a large firm—possibly deepening the recession and certainly throwing many workers out of a job, possibly up to half a million directly and indirectly tied to the corporation, according to Chrysler.

UAW President Douglas Fraser rejected the call for a wage freeze, but indicated that the UAW might consider an "inferior" contract after the Ford and General Motors contracts have been signed. Also, in a hurried effort to come up with solutions that would involve more than public subsidy to the corporation yet still save autoworker jobs, the union suggested that the government buy \$1 billion in stock from the company, and thus hold roughly 30 percent of equity. The government, workers and consumer representatives would all have voting rights on the board.

General Motors president Thomas A. Murphy, the *Wall Street Journal* and other defenders of the free enterprise faith objected to the bail-out on the grounds that the market should work unimpaired, even though one of the contributing causes of Chrysler's problems has been the enormous concentration of financial power in the hands of General Motors and the failure of the govern-

ment to pursue antitrust prosecution in the industry. Critics from the left, such as Ralph Nader, also objected to a subsidy for Chrysler. Environmentalists denounced the bid to delay compliance with emissions standards. AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Lane Kirkland, after chiding big corporations who preach rule of the marketplace and then run to the government, gave cautious support to the principle of government intervention to save Chrysler.

It isn't the first time that Chrysler has pleaded for special help. And if it got it, it wouldn't be the first: Lockheed is the most famous direct bail-out, but in many ways the government is deeply involved in the successes and failures of most of the major corporations of this country through various subsidies, including General Motors.

—David Moberg

Lesbians fight cops in court

SAN FRANCISCO—A courageous stand by members of the lesbian community has led to the filing of criminal charges against a local police officer. Trial will begin July 23 for narcotics officer Daniel Marr and a civilian friend who are charged with battery.

The charges arise from an incident in the early morning hours of March 31 when off-duty police and friends engaged in a bar-hopping bachelor's party celebration attempted to enter Peg's Place, a women's bar. Injured women and their attorney allege fighting broke out when the men forced their way in and assaulted at least three women after being refused admittance for being drunk. Witnesses accused narcotics officer Marr, vice officer Michael Kelly and civilian Kevin Guerin.

On-duty officers called to the scene allowed Marr to walk away and although Kelly and Guerin were taken to the police station, they were not arrested or given tests for drunkenness. Witnesses' names and statements were refused and victims were not offered medical help. One woman was treated for a concussion after allegedly being hit on the head with a pool cue and another was hospitalized for three weeks with back injuries.

When the officer's supervising lieutenant was quoted as referring to the attack as "no big deal" and the victims felt another whitewash seemed in the works, women held press conferences, met with the mayor and obtained 25,000 signatures on petitions demanding an investigation. A separate investigation in the district attorney's office finally led to the criminal charges being filed against Marr and Guerin. Marr and Kelly will also face internal department charges before the police commission on August 8.

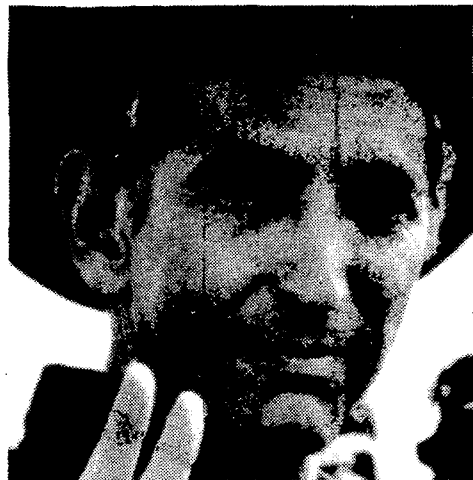
—Katherine Bishop

Parole hearing for Agron

NEW YORK CITY—Salvador Agron grew up poor, grew up Puerto Rican and grew up in prison, where he has spent over half of his life. Sentenced to be executed at age 16 for the deaths of two white youths in a gang fight, his term was commuted to life imprisonment after Eleanor Roosevelt and others intervened.

Agron has since become a jailhouse lawyer, an intellectual, a poet and a political activist in the struggle for prison reform and says he is determined to help end poverty and injustice.

In 1976, New York Governor Hugh Carey granted Agron clemency conditioned upon his attendance at an educational release program from which Agron fled. His acquittal by a jury on the charges of absconding was a recognition of his decency and humanity as well as the schizoid nature of that program—freedom



Clockwise from upper left: Daniel Ellsberg, Angela Davis, Jessica Mitford, and Paul Robeson.

Now that they've got 'em, let's find out what they have

The Fund for Open Information and Accountability, Inc., filed an action in federal court on behalf of Daniel Ellsberg, Angela Davis, Jessica Mitford, Paul Robeson and others including organizations such as the American Friends Service Committee, the American Indian Movement, the Nation magazine, and the Center for National Security Studies to prevent the FBI from destroying its files.

Secret agreements between the FBI and the National Archives and Record Service of the General Services Administration (GSA) gave the FBI the go ahead for the Records Destruction Program under which millions of files are in the process of disappearing, according to attorneys Marshal Perlin and Bonnie Brower, counsel for the FOIA.

"At least half of all FBI files are scheduled for destruction," said Perlin.

The plaintiffs, requesting an immediate injunction against further destruction, charge that some of the files were destroyed

in violation of a Senate Resolution and court orders directing their preservation and release.

Despite the FBI and GSA claims of "housekeeping" needs as the reason for the destruction policy, the plaintiffs say the main purpose is to keep a cloak of secrecy over the illegal activities of the agency. The loss of the files, especially field office files, is significant said Perlin, because they contain primary evidence of clandestine and illegal activities by the FBI and its paid informers and agents.

The FOIA, established to defend, strengthen and enforce the Freedom of Information Act which gives courts authority to compel intelligence agencies to turn over incriminating documents showing their unauthorized wiretaps, break-ins, and widespread surveillance of legal political dissent, maintains archives, conducts research and publishes information on individuals and organization files received under the FOIA and Privacy Acts.

of a college campus by day and voluntary return by night to a repressive prison regimen.

Nonetheless, Agron was denied parole last August on the grounds he had rejected correction influences.

Agron's lawyers, William Kunstler and Harry Kresky have filed suit charging that the parole board decision illegally and unconstitutionally punished him for something of which he was acquitted.

On August 20, Agron meets the parole board again.

—Margaret Barry

Southern victories for unions

It isn't easy for labor to win in the South, but two significant victories in July should bolster spirits of those organizers who face hostile corporations, chambers of commerce and legislators in the anti-union realms of the Sunbelt.

The United Auto Workers won representation at a new Oklahoma City, Okla. assembly plant of General Motors by 1,479 to 658. The national contract was put into effect shortly afterwards. The UAW, which announced that it would now step up its organizing in the South,

mainly fought the local Chamber of Commerce, which along with the *Daily Oklahoman* led the campaign against the union.

United Rubber Workers won an important representation election at the Nashville, Tennessee, Firestone radial tire plant by 600 to 157 on July 16. Workers had struck the plant June 30 after the company refused to recognize the Rubber Workers.

In another major union drive in the South, workers at Newport News Shipbuilding in Virginia decided not to strike again, but wait until the district court rules in September on another appeal by the company of the union's victory in a bargaining election to represent the 15-19,000 workers in the shipyard a year and a half ago. Several hundred workers walked out of the local union meeting, angrily protesting what they called international union interference to discourage a strike. A strike last winter was suspended as support dwindled.

(The Labor Day issue of *In These Times* will feature a report on organizing in the South, including expanded accounts of the UAW and URW victories.)

—David Moberg

IN SHORT is written by Laura Cianci unless otherwise indicated.

IN THE NATION

ANTI-NUKE

Hiroshima: remembered and feared

By Thomas Wornath

BUCHANAN, N.Y.

AT 8:15 A.M. ON AUG. 6, 1945, a U.S. B-29 bomber dropped an atomic bomb named "Little Boy" on the waking populace of Hiroshima. It took the lives of 130,000 Japanese civilians. The atomic bombing of Nagasaki three days later killed an additional 70,000 people, ending the U.S. of a healthy head start in the nuclear arms race.

On the eve of the 34th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing, 214 antinuclear demonstrators were arrested after committing acts of civil disobedience at the Indian Point II and III nuclear power plants in upstate N.Y. Many of their 5,000 supporters stretched out on the ground in a symbolic "die-in" or sat in vigil outside the gates that surround the facilities.

The event was organized by the Hiroshima-Nagasaki Coalition (including the SHAD Alliance, Westchester Peoples Action Coalition, and Mobilization for Survival), which is calling for "the immediate, permanent shutdown of Indian Point and nuclear power plants throughout the world." Consolidated Edison and the Power Authority of the State of New York (PASNY), the respective owners of Indian Point II and III, have encountered problem after problem in the day-to-day operation of the plants. Unit II is closed down on an average of once every ten days. Nineteen million potential accident victims live within a 50-mile radius of the Indian Point plants which sit right next to an active earthquake fault.

The day of protest began with a rally at about 1 p.m. in Blue Mountain State Park, about a mile and a half from the nuclear facilities. There were antinuclear speeches and songs, information tables set up by various groups and spontaneous dancing, as the 90 degree heat made its own case for solar energy.

Ten-year-old Missy McCaughn, whose family lives in Harrisburg, Pa., told the crowd what it was like to live close to



Protesting demonstrators moving along Broadway in Buchanan, N.Y.

Three Mile Island: "Before March 28, I didn't know what nuclear power was. When the accident happened, my family was scared. We didn't know if we would ever see our house or friends again. I think they should close Three Mile Island, Indian Point and all other nuclear plants—forever."

Many of the speakers drew a connection between the struggle for nuclear disarmament and the movement to shut down all nuclear reactors. "It's all linked together," said Dave Dellinger, editor of *Seven Days* magazine, referring to nukes and atomic weapons. "There are lots of different kinds of fallout and invisible death. But it's got to be people power, not presidential power" to bring about the necessary changes.

At 3 o'clock the protesters formed a long procession with those who planned to participate in the "C.D." (civil disobedience) in the lead. The most vocal

residents seemed to be generally sympathetic to the anti-nuclear cause, though there were exceptions, like the men out in front of Marty Walsh's Blue Mountain Inn ("Commie Creeps, Get Out of Our Town").

"A couple of years ago they had an accident," said a middle-aged man watching the marchers from his front lawn. "A transformer blew out." He nodded toward the procession and grinned. "I agree with these people—as long as they're peaceful. There could be another Three Mile Island here."

When the procession reached the gates to the Indian Point grounds, men and women wearing light blue armbands began to climb over the ten foot fence, using rugs to cushion themselves from the barbed wire at the top. The 214 who entered the grounds were arrested for trespassing by some of the 800 state and county police assigned to the event.

Those who identified themselves were released on their own recognizance pending arraignment. The 58 women and 48 men who refused to do so were sent to the Women's Detention Facility and the Westchester County Penitentiary in nearby Valhalla. Protesting their having been segregated from the rest of the prisoners and the fact that two of the anti nukes had been sent to the prison's psychiatric ward, most of the activists—as of the following night—were on a hunger strike.

The anti nuclear action at Indian Point was just one of over 70 across the country—from Austin to Omaha, from Salem County, N.J., to Berkeley, Calif.—commemorating Hiroshima-Nagasaki Week.

For coverage of many of these events, including grassroots struggles in Arkansas and elsewhere, read next week's "Chain Reactions" column in *ITT*, a new weekly roundup of anti nuke activities nationwide.

YELLOW BIRD

Jury faults police in beating of pregnant Sioux activist

By Karen Northcott

NORTH PLATTE, NEB.

A N OGLALA SIOUX WOMAN characterized by the defense as an "instigator of hostility towards humanity" has been awarded \$300,000 in damages after the stillbirth of her child just two weeks after being kicked in the stomach by Gordon, Neb., police on Sept. 15, 1976.

An all white jury of four women and two men early this month agreed with attorneys from the Committee on Native American Struggles that at least two police officers kicked the then seven month pregnant Jo Ann Yellow Bird before arresting her for disorderly conduct almost three years ago. Yellow Bird, the suit charged, was handcuffed, thrown into a squad car, jailed and denied medical attention after her arrest outside a

tavern near her Pine Ridge Indian reservation home.

Yellow Bird had filed an \$8 million civil rights suit against the city of Gordon, Sheridan County, Neb., and six area law enforcement officials as well as a Gordon physician.

Attorneys contended that Yellow Bird and her husband, Bob, had made themselves targets for harassment because of their community organizing against police brutality, misconduct and selective law enforcement. Defendants for the police, however, argued that racism against Indians played no part in the arrest and characterized the Yellow Birds as "instigators of anarchy and instigators of hostility towards humanity in general."

During 18 days of testimony, police and their attorneys from the racially tense reservation border town described the five foot, two inch Yellow Bird as a "wild, crazy woman" with a propensity for profanity, violence and alcohol.

Claiming she attacked officer Robert Barnes while screaming and flailing her arms, the defense said it was Yellow Bird's own negligence that caused her belly and thigh to come in contact with a foot.

Yellow Bird's side countered, however, that the woman had been kicked "square in the stomach" despite what it said was the defense's attempt to make the jury believe "Jo Ann spent the entire evening running around and running into officers' feet."

During the trial, former Gordon police officer Clifford Valentine testified that Sheridan County Attorney Michael Smith told him of a *de facto* racist Indian treatment policy in Gordon.

Valentine also said he threatened Yellow Bird in the police car on the way to jail, telling her "I don't know whether to take you people out into the country and shoot you or to take you to jail."

In further courtroom admissions, Valentine and defendants Terry Weil and Roger Etzelmiller said they had lied on employment applications. Valentine had covered up a dishonorable military discharge and Weil had a misdemeanor record. Etzelmiller covered up both misdemeanor and felony convictions.

Prior to the testimony by Valentine, witnesses had testified that they did not see Barnes cock his foot and kick Yellow Bird. They also denied seeing the woman fall back against the side of a car and slide to the ground.

There were also denials of hearing Yellow Bird complain that "I am preg-

nant. I have been kicked and I need to see a doctor."

Yellow Bird's co-counsel, Doug Sorensen, told the jury the defense's charges against Yellow Bird were an insult, and that the city and police were responsible for the death of her child, Zintkalazi.

"They [police] all knew that night that she was saying she was pregnant and had been kicked," Sorensen said.

"When they say they didn't know, they are lying," he added.

Yellow Bird had charged her attackers with numerous violations of her civil rights under both state and federal statutes as well as false arrest, false imprisonment, battery, intentional infliction of emotional distress and negligence.

In a complex verdict following four weeks of testimony in a federal courtroom over North Platte's post office, the jury found Valentine and the city of Gordon liable for violations of Yellow Bird's civil rights.

The remaining defendants were acquitted.

Yellow Bird's bid for punitive damages against western Nebraska law enforcement officials were denied, however.

The small railroad town of North Platte, founded in the late 19th century as a staging area for overland traffic to the west, has no significant Indian population.

Karen Northcott, a worker for the Native American Solidarity Committee at St. Paul, Minn., and the American Friends Service Committee, is a frequent writer on the concerns of American Indians.

Conference

Continued from page 3.

Heather Booth, the director of the Midwest Academy and of CLEC, set the tone for the conference at the opening session. The Midwest Academy has trained many of the citizens group organizers.

In the spirit of the earlier conferences, Booth had been a localist and anti-ideologue, but her speech this time showed changes. "We're heading into a new level of political activities distinct from the 60s and the 70s," Booth said. She characterized the 60s as a time of multi-sector movements inspired by a new analysis and the 70s as a period of local "digging in" amidst the popular disillusionment and disunion created by economic decline.

"The new economic crisis is pulling us toward a unity of effort not possible since the Vietnam War," Booth said. Labor, citizens groups, women, minorities, and environmentalists could now contest national policies; they could organize across sectors, focussing on anti-corporate issues.

As if to demonstrate her point, Booth announced that CLEC and the Progressive Alliance would sponsor nationwide demonstrations against the oil companies on Oct. 17. The demonstrators would be demanding price controls, oil companies opening their books, and a publicly-owned energy corporation.

In a workshop on statewide organizations, OPIC's Arlook and Miles Rappaport, formerly with Fair Share and now staff director of the Connecticut Citizens Action Group, seconded Booth's outlook.

Rappaport explained how organizations like Fair Share were increasingly working in coalitions with labor and other groups.

"Citizen's organizations have found that you can't win the big issues without a coalition," he said.

In addition, the energy crisis had made it necessary to work on a national as well as a local level. "In Connecticut," he explained, "people ask us what we can do on a local level about the oil companies. National activities have become very important in building local activities."

Rappaport and Arlook both expressed a new appreciation of electoral politics. "There has been a separation of citizens groups and electoral politics," Rappaport said. "As we get into a new situation, electoral activity is becoming more important."

Arlook, whose organization has worked closely with Cleveland mayor Kucinich, was even more emphatic. "Taking on the question of electoral politics is not simply being able to defeat your enemies," he said. "It is trying to elect yourselves."

Both Arlook and Rappaport emphasized building an anti-corporate movement. "The enemy has to be seen as concentrated corporate power," Arlook said. Rap-

paport advocated more educational efforts by and within citizens groups to develop this perspective.

"Over the course of time, if we demonstrate through actions and education the question—which side are you on, the corporations' or ours," Arlook said, "people will be propelled because of the economic situation to take our side."

Tarnished ideals.

Some participants took exception to the Conference's anti-corporate agenda. "If they are going to be against the corporations, they should have invited the corporations to respond. They sometimes are much more helpful to us than the government is," Judy Gaines from Rural American Women said.

But most participants agreed with Booth, Arlook, and Rappaport. The question most debated was not whether to build an anti-corporate movement, but how: what should such a movement be for, who should it primarily be addressed to, and what issues should it concern itself with?

At a plenary on "progressive alternatives to the corporate agenda," CED head Tom Hayden said that there was no progressive agenda. "There is very little between the tarnished economics of the New Deal and the tarnished ideal of socialism," Hayden said. Hayden preferred the "bland" concept of economic democracy for rallying the anti-corporate movement, because socialism was too linked with big government.

Mark Green, director of Ralph Nader's Congress Watch, defended big government against Hayden's reproaches. "You have to distinguish cartel regulation from health and safety regulation," Green said. "Health and safety regulation is one of those invisible benefits of big government that we can't do without."

Green called for "returning the bureaucracy to the people." "Washington, like it or not, is the major distributor of wealth and power in our society," he said.

Ken Cockrel took on Hayden's view of socialism. "The only alternative we can see is systematic participation in scientific socialism," Cockrel said. He argued that without "collective control over investment" there was no way to solve America's problems.

The Hayden/Green/Cockrel debate kept popping up in workshops. "You may be exchanging direct corporate control for indirect corporate control," Ira Arlook warned one advocate of energy nationalization.

It remained unclear, however, how much of the debate was terminological and how much was substantive. Did the advocates of economic democracy really reject socialism or simply the term? Did they fear big government or merely its popular spectre?

In a speech primarily devoted to the 1980 elections, Democratic Socialist Organization Committee head Michael Harrington warned that "nationalization can be done by idiots. It can be done by fascist governments, capitalist governments,



Karen Nussbaum of Cleveland Working Women (left), Ellen Cassady of Boston Nine to Five.

Without social control of investment, America's problems can't be solved, Detroit's Ken Cockrel argued. This view kept popping up.

military dictatorships. Anybody can nationalize. Socializing property, getting real worker control of decisions is tough." Harrington argued that it was necessary to change the "actual social mode of decision-making, not just the forms of property."

Part of this also involved decentralized decision-making. "We are not for centralizing the daylight out of things," Harrington said. He cited the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) of the 30s as a possible model for democratic control. The REA vested power over rural electricity to a system of local non-profit cooperatives.

Harrington's speech, which attempted to accommodate socialism to Hayden's and Arlook's objections, received the greatest applause of any at the conference.

Progressives on welfare.

Booth had spoken of building a "majoritarian, multi-sector movement." Most participants assumed that such a movement would include everyone from the poor to the middle-classes, from welfare mothers to low-level professionals and small business people. But several groups and individuals questioned whether the Conference's anti-corporate agenda really included the poor.

Members of ACORN, whose organizations now span 19 states, had complained bitterly when they were not included in

the plenary on the 1980 elections. In spite of being given their own workshop, some 100 members of Philadelphia ACORN staged a march into the auditorium at the beginning of the plenary, where they presented their platform for 1980. But one ACORN staff person acknowledged that more than a procedural dispute underlay ACORN's dissatisfaction with the conference. From ACORN's standpoint, the Conference participants aren't really serious about organizing the poor and moderate income people that ACORN tries to attract.

This complaint was also voiced by a conference participant who took the stage on Sunday morning to deliver an attack against the Conference on behalf of welfare mothers. "All progressives should have to go on welfare," she shouted.

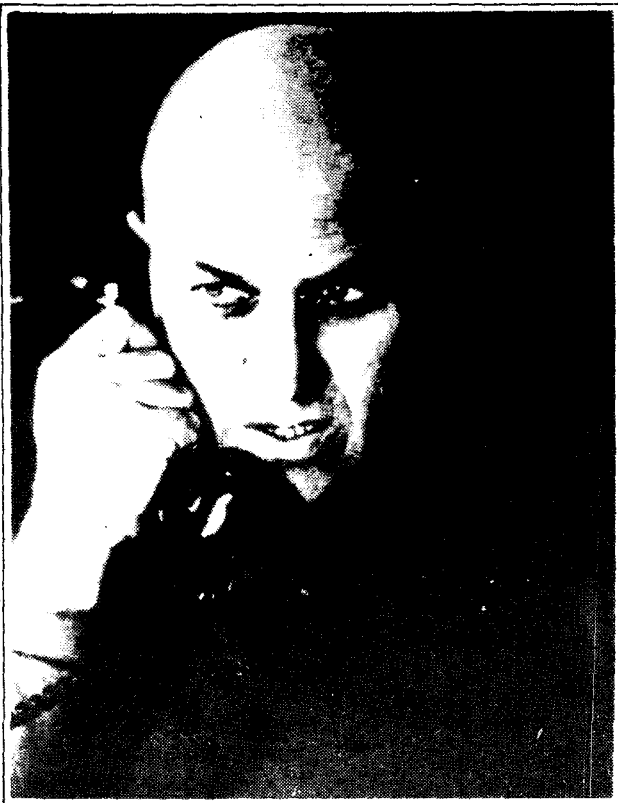
There was a hint of sectarian combat in these attacks. Many of the organizations did not speak to the poor as well as the middle classes. ACORN seemed to be singling itself out as the only real representative of their cause. And the advocate for welfare mothers snuck in a few plugs for such humanitarian outfits as Italy's Red Brigades. On Sunday, however, Marion Berry made a similar point, but in a more generous and comprehensive manner.

Berry charged that the conference's anti-corporate agenda was largely irrelevant to the poor and minorities. "They don't understand that kind of talk," he said. "You don't see black people and Latinos here because the issues aren't the kind they get turned on to." Berry didn't advocate throwing out the anti-corporate emphasis; he wanted to supplement it with what he called "back to the basics." These basics included jobs, housing, health, welfare and prison reform.

But as *Socialist Review's* David Plotke noted at Berry's press conference, it wasn't simply a matter of supplementing one approach with the other. CED, the citizens organizations, and OPIC had adopted an anti-corporate strategy precisely because the spectre of big government blocked any substantial increase in aid to the poor. It was only by first shifting blame from big government to big business that it would be possible to expand the provisions of the welfare state.

Berry acknowledged this dilemma, but he had no solution for it.

Like the dilemmas posed by socialism and economic democracy, it stands in the way of the left's unification and of the "new level of activity" foreseen by Booth, Arlook, and Rappaport. It was the inestimable virtue of the fifth annual conference to have provided a forum where these dilemmas could be discussed with a view toward their resolution. ■



PAUL JACOBS AND THE NUCLEAR GANG

a film by
Jack Willis and Saul Landau

A film about a reporter and a story he covered for twenty years: the effect of radiation exposure on soldiers, civilians and workers and the government's attempts to cover up the story.

16mm color 60 mins. Sale \$750 Rental \$75

Distributed by:
NEW TIME FILMS
1501 Broadway, Suite 1904
New York, N.Y. 10036
(212) 921-7020

OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH



Molly Coye, of the San Francisco Occupational Health Clinic with patients.

Judy Parker

Here's a working worker's clinic

By Charles Piller

SAN FRANCISCO

WORKERS WHO VISIT SAN Francisco General Hospital's Occupational Health Clinic are finding a political prescription as well as medical advice for job related illnesses.

Commonly known as the "Worker's Clinic," the volunteer staffed center was established in January with facilities donated by the San Francisco health department. Founder and medical director Molly Coye said in addition to working on emergency medical problems, the clinic accepts patients "who are worried about their exposures (to toxic substances) but are not yet showing symptoms."

Despite Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that one out of every 11 Americans gets hurt on the job or suffers a job related illness, Coye is one of only about 500 occupational health specialists practicing in the U.S.

Contending with toxic chemicals alone is a major undertaking.

Each year, for every new toxic chemical standard developed, two more chemicals are introduced with no safety guidelines or rules to follow.

Paul Chown of the Labor and Occupational Health Program (LOHP) at the University of California at Berkeley told *In These Times* "the attitude of industry seems to be, if a few more people die of cancer, but the chemical is good for the economy, the risks are offset."

A now classic example of industry foreknowledge of latent health danger is the exposure of workers at the Occidental Chemical plant at Lathrop, Calif., in 1975 to the pesticide DBCP. (see *ITT*, June 27.)

Despite the sterilization of Occidental workers by the chemical, the company had kept silent about the dangers of DBCP for 14 years to save money on safety measures.

With only one Occupational Health and Safety Inspector for every 2094 workplaces in California, problems are further aggravated by the variety of substantial fines. A California OSHA official said the maximum \$10,000 is used only in ex-

ceptional cases, with general fines averaging about \$10.

One tack on the occupational injury and illness problem has been the creation of "industrial-medical" clinics in recent years. But the chief beneficiary of their work appears to be industry. The clinics provide only emergency care and pre-employment physicals on a fee-for-service basis, largely covered by company insurance plans.

Unlike Coye and other volunteers at the Workers Clinic, legal advocacy and the pursuit of safer working conditions are not the object of company backed clinics, whose main purpose is to turn a profit. Industrial-medical clinics provide

care to avoid costly compensation suits and to screen out individuals who might be considered high health risks to the companies. For smaller companies, the facilities have the additional attraction of replacing the expensive full time plant physician.

At the Workers Clinic, lawyers are available for compensation cases and health educators work with patients and distribute information about workplace hazards.

Susan Benson, whose job at a lighting fixtures plant includes handling asbestos and fiberglass, said "women who worked with asbestos for 20 years were really scared to find out the dangers. When I

visited the Workers Clinic and then LOHP, they provided me with all the information we needed for a leaflet we used for organizing and helped me work with the union to deal with the company. The older people were especially relieved that there was the Workers Clinic to fall back on for medical help."

Coye said the clinic's Outreach Committee, which makes union contacts for solving health problems and educational work, is the most important function.

The Culinary Workers and Service Employees International Union have relied on the clinic to develop health programs to solve specific problems, such as microwave exposure. ■

Working people can't change health conditions without a union

The following is an interview with Molly Coye, founder and medical director of San Francisco General Hospital's Occupational Health clinic.

What will the major impact of the Workers' Clinic be?

The most important function is working with unions on developing full programs on occupational health and safety. We hope this will spin off from the kind of work we're doing now. It has already happened with one union we've been working with. So, when an individual worker comes to us, we'll see a problem in that workplace and the worker will involve us in speaking with others involved.

The thrust of our impact will be in two directions. There's been interest from other cities in duplicating this kind of clinic. But perhaps more important than duplicating this clinic is the goal of being a model medical facility that labor unions can trust on issues of health and safety. We hope they will demand the creation of more facilities like this.

What has been done with unorganized workers?

Very little can be done about occupational health and safety unless you're organized into a union. Occupational health

is exciting to me because of its organizing potential. Within a union situation you can do a lot more, so it's very exciting to work on occupational health. Working in unorganized workplaces is extremely frustrating if your goal is to change the health conditions in the workplace. You can't do that without a union.

The only ones who can bring about a change in the workplace are the workers through their pressure on the company. If they start complaining about occupational health issues without a union they have no protection against being fired. Legally, OSHA has an anti-discrimination clause—but that would take years to push through the courts, and without a union to pay for the lawyer it's impossible.

What would you consider effective ways for unions to move in the future?

One of the problems not dealt with well in the past is the question of how unions can gain access to medical expertise on a regular basis and use it most effectively. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) has an OSHA grant for five doctors for five years. Tony Mazzocchi, OCAW's vice president, is responsible for that. These doctors will be flying to different locals all over the country whenever a problem comes up or a contract needs help. As far as I'm con-



Judy Parker

cerned, that's the model of how unions can most effectively use doctors.

As a member of OCAW and steward for my local, I'm a different type of experiment—an example of what can happen with a union doctor working part time with one local.

What do you see as the future of the Workers' Clinic? Is it an anomaly, to be nothing but an interesting historical fact ten years from now?

It depends on political conditions ten years from now. Whenever the climate favors a strong union movement and strong union participation in public safety, then you'll have services of this type. In times of clamping down, things like this will tend to disappear. I see this as very directly tied into the fate of the field of health and safety. ■

AFL-CIO

Nationalize oil, says union council

The left bloc of union leaders were pleased with the energy resolution

By David Moberg

WITH A TENTATIVE BUT unprecedented call to consider nationalization of the oil companies, the AFL-CIO executive council at its summer quarterly meeting in Chicago Aug. 6-8 adopted an energy policy statement that emphasized conservation and development of solar and related renewable energy sources more prominently than in the past. Its continued commitment to coal and nuclear power was also hedged with cautions about the safety and environmental problems that had to be solved.

In other major policy statements, the Council announced its support for the SALT II arms limitation agreement, but linked that to demands for development of the MX missile system and—in a quite different vein—a clear statement by the Senate that future SALT talks should not simply set limits on strategic arms but also should “require the dismantling of warheads to a level of parity significantly (at least 30 percent) below the existing level” of the higher party followed by annual across-the-board percentage reductions.

Two council members—Machinist President William Winpisinger and Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers President Murray Finley, objected to linking SALT to the MX and voted against the resolution.

The Council called on the Carter administration to move immediately to combat the current recession with new job programs, public works, improved unemployment compensation, federal controls to allocate credit to housing, family farms and other productive areas. It called for expanded public housing, and regulation of food and raw material exports to prevent shortages and price spurts.

Lane Kirkland, 57, the Federation secretary-treasurer, who sat in for ailing George Meany, reiterated the Council's belief that Carter and the Congress will eventually turn to mandatory price and wage controls because “nothing else has any relevance or effect.”

The left bloc of the Council appeared particularly pleased with the energy resolution. Even though it declared agreement “with the thrust of the President's program” and continued the traditional call for expanding all energy forms, the statement broke with the President on

important points—most notably in opposing decontrol of oil prices—and revealed subtle shifts of priorities.

The AFL-CIO repeated its earlier call for a government agency to import oil, negotiate its price and “allocate it throughout the nation to best meet the needs and interests of all segments of society.” But it asserted the need for public control over energy even more forcefully:

“We call for immediate legislation to prevent the giant oil companies from using federal funds to develop renewable sources of energy alternatives. We continue to support legislation to prevent oil companies from diverting their resources to acquisitions of or mergers with companies in other industries. They have abused their current monopoly powers and the nation cannot afford to be at the mercy of either the sheiks of OPEC or the barons of American oil companies. If the oil monopoly fails adequately to serve the public interest, consideration should be given to nationalization of the industry.”

“This is the first time I can recall the American labor movement calling for nationalization of a major business,” said J.C. Turner, president of the Operating Engineers and—along with Plumbers chief Martin J. Ward, a union leader often mentioned as a contender with front-runner Kirkland for succession to Meany's chair. “It's a fundamentally significant move on the part of the labor movement. Maybe it's a harbinger of things to come.”

“We're not mad advocates of nationalization *per se*,” Kirkland said in his press conference, which he handled competently but without the Meany flair, “but in this situation where you have ironclad control of a vital resource that is deeply imbued with the public interest..., where they become energy companies, not just oil companies, it begins to take on and has taken on a totally different coloration.”

The emphasis in the energy statement was first on conservation, then on alter-

nate energy sources, with essential renewable sources—solar, wind, gasohol, tidal and geothermal energy—for which varying degrees of technology exist and which appear to have minimal environmental effects, having pride of first place in the list. The statement urged “a very substantial commitment” to development of these alternatives, but said only that “the nation cannot afford to ignore coal and nuclear energy, despite environmental dangers.” The Council called for continued stringent health and safety regulations and urged that the Energy Mobilization Board “not be permitted to negate worker-safety, civil rights, labor standards, anti-trust, environmental or health laws.” In a separate statement the Council called for protection of workers from occupational radiation hazards.

The AFL-CIO leadership also envisioned making Carter's Energy Security Fund into a broader public agency, an Energy Independence Authority, that would stimulate production of oil and gas from public lands and develop new conservation technology as well as alternate fuels. It would be funded with windfall profits taxes that should be enacted, the Council said, on existing oil profits, while controls are maintained.

In another statement, the Executive Council rejected the Transfer Amendment, which would shift \$15 billion from the military budget to social programs, on the grounds that defense spending was needed and that the country could afford to promote both defense and the common welfare.

Despite the incessant speculation about whether Meany would retire now, this fall or sometime later, Council members avoided the issue. Kirkland admitted that as Meany's first mate he would love to be captain of labor's ship sometime, but he wasn't pushing his prospects. “I believe George Meany is mortal,” he said in response to a reporter's question, “although that remains to be proven.” ■

CHALLENGING CORPORATE POWER: Resources You Can Use

- ☐ **Plant Closings: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders.** \$5. Edited by Ed Kelly and Lee Webb (May 1979) 85 pp. Union leaders, public officials, community leaders and professors will welcome this comprehensive resource manual detailing the problems of plant closings and runaway shops. Included are the most informative magazine articles, essays, policy reports and press clips on the causes of plant closings, and the organizing and legislative strategies to prevent them. Very useful for course adoption and union education programs.
- ☐ **Industrial Exodus.** \$2.50 Ed Kelly (1977) 30 pp. What can be done about plant closings and runaway shops? This concise booklet outlines an action program for unions, community groups, states and the federal government. A classic study widely used by labor and community organizations.
- ☐ **The Public Balance Sheet: A New Tool for Evaluating Economic Choices.** \$2.50 David Smith (June 1979) 20 pp. This short paper introduces public officials and policy analysts to a new conceptual tool for analyzing the impact of public and private economic decisions. The author outlines his concept of “the public balance sheet.”
- ☐ **Tax Abatements: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders.** \$5. Edited by Ed Kelly and Lee Webb (May 1979) 80 pp. One of the major reasons why property taxes are so high is because of the tax abatements, or special deals that corporations wrest from local governments. *Tax Abatements* is an up-to-date resource manual which details not only the problem, but the tactics public officials, community groups and labor unions have successfully used to fight them. Excellent for course adoption and trade union education programs.

The Conference on Alternative State and Local Policy
1901 Q St. N.W.-Dept. 1, Washington, D.C. 20009

Please send the titles checked above.

☐ Please send me your complete publication list.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY, STATE _____

ZIP _____

Make all checks payable to In These Times and
Send c/o ITT, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

**LAWRENCE
HILL & CO.**
Publishers, Inc.

**BOOKS FROM
LAWRENCE HILL
PUBLISHERS:**

SPECIAL OFFER TO READERS OF IN THESE TIMES!

The Unquiet Death of JULIUS & ETHEL ROSENBERG

BY Alvin H. Goldstein

With an Introduction by Nat Hentoff

This graphic summary in words and photos of the trial and execution of the Rosenbergs is an important resource for understanding the renewed interest in the justice of their case. The book is based on the 90 minute telecast of the same name, written by Alvin H. Goldstein, which was presented on American public television and the BBC in England. It was nominated for two Emmy Awards and widely acclaimed by reviewers.

This book, comprised of the text and many of the photographs from the TV documentary, vividly recreates the atmosphere of hysteria and fear in which the trial took place and the world-wide campaign to prevent the executions.

Please send ☐ copies. cloth \$8.95, paper \$4.95.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY STATE _____

ZIP _____

Make check payable to IN THESE TIMES. Add 50¢ postage and handling for each copy and send to: IN THESE TIMES, 5615 W. Cermak Road, Cicero, IL 60650.



Shanghai residents doing Tai Chi in 1978 with Mao Dzedung and his chosen heir, Huo Guofeng on the background billboard. Inset: The same scene in 1979 shows the billboard with slogan "on to 2000."

CHINA

The Party bureaucracy rules and equality gives way again

By Chris Mullin

This is the second of two articles by Chris Mullin, *IT*'s new correspondent from England, on China. It is based on a several months visit to China he made earlier this year.

LIKE THE EMPERORS OF OLD, the rulers of Communist China live behind high walls, in a compound known as the Chung Nan Hai. The Chung Nan Hai, part of the old imperial Forbidden City, is surrounded by walls 30 feet high with guards at every gate.

On the rare occasions that Chinese leaders leave the Chung Nan Hai, they do so in chauffeur driven cars, the back windows of which are curtained—rather as the sedan chairs of the mandarins might have been.

The only exception is said to be Deng Xiaoping who, according to Chinese sources, does not live in the Chung Nan Hai.

Theoretically the leaders of China are answerable to the National People's Congress and the Congress of the Communist Party, both of which, according to the terms of their constitutions, are obliged to meet at prescribed intervals. In practice these organizations seem to meet at the whim of the leaders.

Power in China resides with the standing committee of the Politburo. Over the years the faction fights and disputes among this small body of men (there are scarcely any women) have formed the basis for nearly all the mass campaigns—against "capitalist roaders"; against Lin Biao and Confucius; and against the Gang of Four.

Privilege.

Underlying all this is a system of privilege that could hardly be more comprehensive if all those concerned had attended the best British public schools.

Senior party and state officials, senior army officers and industrial managers all qualify to be driven around in curtained cars, arrogantly booting their way

through streets crowded with bicycles. Many of them live in special blocks of flats reserved for cadres; their children go to special schools; they have access through a special circuit known as NEBU to films and literature not available to ordinary citizens of China.

The Cultural Revolution was designed to shake this system up. Mao Dzedung appealed to students, workers and peasants to root out corrupt officials, overthrow the local Party establishment and set up instead Revolutionary Committees comprising workers, peasants and soldiers to run factories and communes. Unfortunately, there was bitter fighting between different factions; many innocent people were persecuted and some killed; the economy was severely disrupted.

In the last three years (since the fall of the Gang of Four) the Cultural Revolution has been repudiated and many of its worthwhile aspects have been overturned. For example, the re-introduction of exams as the sole means of entry to higher education has excluded children of workers and peasants from universities and colleges. In one English class at Beijing University, only one of the 21 students had a peasant background—in a country where well over 90 percent of the people are peasants.

The Cultural Revolution had insisted that all intellectuals, officials and managers should take part in manual labor. Except for some students whose courses include limited periods of farm work, manual labor for intellectuals and white collar workers has now been entirely abolished.

Throughout China the Party establishment is now firmly back in control. Although there has been an undoubted improvement in the freedom of expression allowed to individuals, the Party still has the final say.

Party control.

Take the Wuhan steel mill, for example: visitors are told workers there now have industrial democracy. This consists of elections in which workers simply vote

for or against lists of candidates approved by the factory's Party committee.

In a Szechwan commune we were told that the job of the revolutionary committee, whose members would be chosen by all adults of voting age, was to implement the instructions of the Party committee on the commune. The Party committee was chosen only by commune members who are members of the Party.

Just how many commune members are likely to be members of the Party? We were told at a commune in Kwangtung province that out of a population of 63,000 about 1,200 were Party members.

Throughout China the Communist Party has about 34 million members while the number of voting age adults is around ten times that figure. With the exception of the brief period of the Cultural Revolution, the Communist Party has dominated every level of administration in China from national government to street committee.

Effectively this means that the overwhelming majority of Chinese citizens are simply by-standers when it comes to

the administration of factories, communes and local and national government.

In Chengtu I asked a university graduate aged about 30 how his local representatives on the provincial administration were chosen. He replied that he had no idea: "I am just an ordinary person." If one of the handful of people in China fortunate enough to receive university education does not know how the democratic process works, what hope is there for the mass of relatively uneducated peasants and workers?

Over the last 15 years the Chinese people have been told that Mr. Deng Xiaoping is good, then bad, then good, then bad and—finally—that he is good again. One day Liu Shao-Ch'i is the respected President of China and the next day Chinese "historians" claim he had been an agent of the Japanese in the 1930s. One day Lin Biao is Mao's "trusted comrade in arms" and the next he is a "renegade and traitor."

The rise and fall of each leader is accompanied by a campaign designed to provide each turn of events with a basis consistent with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. "Whatever we do we will call it 'Marxism-Leninism,'" said one Chinese student in London.

Many people in China, including some in authority, simply choose to keep their heads down, chant the slogans of the hour and hope for the best. This may breed cynicism, and lead people to question the entire system under which they live.

The achievements of the Chinese Communist party are considerable and should not be minimized. It has presided over what is probably the greatest advance in the human condition in recorded history. But the Party has never been confident enough to share power with the people of China.

The Party is becoming flabby. The generation of leaders who learned their socialism in the cauldron of the revolution is dying out and being replaced in many places by opportunists who see Party membership in terms of what it has to offer them and not what they have to offer the people of China.

Despite lip-service to the contrary, many Party cadres no longer make a virtue of living and working among the masses. To even the casual outside observer they are becoming a remote, privileged and self-perpetuating ruling class.



A Red flag limousine, a car reserved for party leaders.

AFRICAN SUMMIT



Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Liberian President William Tolbot chat at the opening of the Organization of African Unity conference in Monrovia, Liberia.

West Sahara, Uganda agitate the delegates

But the South
African threat held
the conference
together

By Stephen Talbot

MONROVIA, LIBERIA

ONLY 30 OF AFRICA'S 49 HEADS of state attended last month's 16th Organization of African Unity summit conference in steamy, rain-soaked Monrovia, Liberia. Beleaguered leaders, such as Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, begged off, pleading pressing problems at home.

Cynical Western journalists like to joke that many African leaders fear they will be overthrown while attending OAU conferences—and in fact more than a dozen heads of state have been rudely informed during past summits that their services were no longer required in their countries.

This time, however, the Western correspondents at the OAU were jolted by the news that President Carter's entire Cabinet had offered to resign, and it was the Africans who were laughing about the "coup" in the "unstable" U.S.

But Africans—living on a continent plagued by economic under-development, torn by wars, and burdened by four million refugees—cannot afford to be smug. OAU delegates tackled a number of thorny and intractable problems, including the struggle for majority rule in southern Africa, the Western Sahara guerrilla war, and a strategy for Africa's economic development in the next 20 years.

The summit was also confronted with the continuing debate over Egypt's peace treaty with Israel and jarred by an unexpectedly antagonistic clash over Tanzania's role in toppling Idi Amin's regime in Uganda.

In a politically heterogeneous continent where governments range from parliamentary democracies to military juntas to self-styled "empires" and Marxist states, the strongest point of agreement—the OAU's glue—is opposition to the white-minority regimes in South Africa, Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and Namibia. Some observers predicted that this unity would begin to dissolve now that the new Zimbabwe-Rhodesia is nominally black-led.

Zaire's prime minister made it clear that he was not entirely opposed to Bishop Abel Muzorewa's administration in Salisbury, and he proposed that the OAU and Britain organize a conference to bring together all the "factions" in the Zimbabwe conflict.

But Zaire—one of Africa's most right-wing countries and believed to be engaging in extensive clandestine trade with South Africa—represented a minority position. The majority of African states, including powerful and influential Nigeria, supported the Patriotic Front guerrillas as the sole and authentic representative of the Zimbabwean people. A resolution to that effect was adopted, with Zaire, Lesotho, Ivory Coast, Cameroon and Liberia expressing reservations.

Speaking on behalf of the liberation movements in southern Africa, Patriotic Front co-leader Joshua Nkomo made a rousing appeal for increased material aid to the guerrillas and their allies, the frontline nations, which continue to suffer from Rhodesian raids. The burly Nkomo denounced Muzorewa, saying, "The bishop has given his soul to the racists in South Africa. He reports to [South African Prime Minister] Botha. They have worked out a military strategy. But I'm sure that Africa has more guns than South Africa." He evoked laughter and applause when he asserted: "Zimbabwe was not colonized by Bishop Abel Muzorewa. The imperialists and racists are using the face of the bishop as a shield."

Nkomo condemns Western nations.

The most militant aspect of Nkomo's speech was his condemnation of Western nations for considering lifting sanctions against the Muzorewa regime and his defense of socialist countries for supporting the liberation movements. "Who mowed down the children of Soweto?" Nkomo asked. "Was it the communists? Who is killing the children of Zimbabwe and Namibia? Is it the socialist countries? Who does Botha represent? Western interests."

The OAU agreed with Nkomo and his co-leader, Robert Mugabe, that the Ap-

ril elections in Rhodesia were "sham and fraudulent," that the constitution still entrenches white-minority power and privilege, and that Muzorewa was a front for white settler interests. Nigeria's head of state, Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, told the summit, "Our organization should not be deceived or lured into accepting shadow for substance (in Rhodesia)."

In a move that could have a strong negative impact on the British economy, the OAU also resolved to impose a "secondary boycott" against any country that lifts sanctions against or recognizes the Muzorewa regime. Nigeria has already threatened to deprive British firms of important contracts if Margaret Thatcher's Tory government recognizes Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

The OAU also specifically admonished "certain elements in the U.S. Congress"—a clear reference to Senators Hayakawa, Helms and their allies—for trying to compel the Carter administration to lift sanctions. An OAU resolution instructed Hayakawa and company to "desist forthwith."

Concerning the disputed uranium-rich territory of Namibia, the OAU condemned South Africa for being "deceitful" in the last two years of Western-sponsored negotiations over Namibia's independence. Reasserting unqualified support for the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO)—Namibia's liberation movement—the OAU called for an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Pretoria for failing to end its colonial occupation of Namibia.

Knowing, however, that in the past the U.S. and other Western nations have vetoed African proposals for sanctions against South Africa, the OAU added that if the Security Council fails to act, an extraordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers will be convened "to devise a new strategy for the liberation of Namibia."

The leader of the principal liberation movement in South Africa—Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress (ANC)—made a special appeal for an international oil embargo against South Africa. Tambo expressed thanks at a press conference to Iran, OPEC and Nigeria for cutting off oil shipments to Pretoria, which he said had been greatly weakened by the sudden loss of more than 90 percent of its oil.

"This is the moment to impose a total oil embargo," Tambo implored. "It is urgent. It could change the balance of forces very substantially in southern Africa." The OAU responded by denouncing the "perfidious role played by international oil companies" in supplying South Africa and Rhodesia and urged an oil embargo.

The African heads of state also specifically criticized Britain, the U.S., West Germany, France, Japan, Israel, Belgium and "certain Latin American countries" for maintaining political, economic, military and even nuclear ties with the apartheid regime. To pressure these countries to end their South African connections, the OAU urged anti-apartheid groups to intensify their activities and appealed to workers "to refuse to load and off-load ships and aircraft going to and from South Africa."

OAU Defends POLISARIO.

Last year at the OAU summit in Khartoum, the war between Somalia and Ethiopia dominated much of the discussion. But this year the Horn of Africa, including the continuing guerrilla war in Eritrea, was barely mentioned. Instead, delegates turned their attention to the escalating war in the Western Sahara—the former Spanish colony—where a desert guerrilla movement, POLISARIO, is fighting for the territory's independence against Moroccan and Mauritanian annexation. (Morocco's King Hassan is seeking increased military aid from Washington to fight POLISARIO.)

The Algerian-backed POLISARIO sent a delegation to meet with an OAU ad hoc committee and found a great deal of sympathy. Although Morocco walked out in protest and is now threatening to quit the OAU, 33 OAU member states voted to adopt a resolution saying that the people of the Western Sahara had been denied their right to self-determination.

The OAU called upon the UN to organize a referendum in the territory to determine the popular will. Only Zaire and the Comoros Islands voted against; Egypt, Tunisia and other countries close to Morocco's King Hassan abstained or were absent during the vote.

The arrival of Egypt's Anwar Sadat, accompanied by a huge delegation including 40 armed "technicians," immersed the OAU in debate over the Middle East. Libya and Algeria led an unsuccessful drive to expel Egypt.

Surrounded by a dozen bodyguards, Sadat gave an impassioned one-hour speech defending his peace treaty with Israel. Sadat's speech was well-received, although the final OAU resolution on the Middle East still stressed that the crux of the 30-year conflict was the Palestinian issue and reaffirmed its support for the PLO.

A number of correspondents were disappointed when Libya's Col. Qaddafi did not show up for a great debate with Sadat. But Qaddafi may have wisely decided that his presence at the OAU would only inflame African criticism of his military support for the despised Idi Amin. Libya continues to provide sanctuary for Amin.

Tanzania and Uganda

Although most OAU delegates seemed to favor Tanzania's role in overthrowing Amin and hoped to avoid a fratricidal debate over whether Tanzania had technically violated the OAU's cardinal rule against interference in the internal affairs of a member state, the Uganda issue still erupted.

It began when Sudan's President Nimeiry castigated Tanzania for sending troops into Uganda. In an impromptu response, Tanzania's President Nyerere chided Nimeiry—the outgoing head of the OAU—for not condemning Uganda's invasion and occupation of northwestern Tanzania last October—the invasion that prompted Tanzania's intervention in Uganda on behalf of the anti-Amin forces. Speaking ironically—calling Amin "my friend"—Nyerere won the strong applause of most delegates.

Although the debate might have ended there, Nigeria's Obasanjo raised it again the following day, insisting that Tanzania's "ill-advised" intervention had set a "dangerous precedent." By then, Nyerere had already departed from Monrovia, so it was left to Uganda's current leader, Godfrey Binaisa, to counter the imposing, prestigious, elaborately-robed Nigerian leader. Binaisa, an attorney, did not shrink from the task. In a dramatic, assertive speech which drew repeated applause, Binaisa condemned Amin as a "primitive fascist" whose downfall was enthusiastically welcomed by Ugandans.

"When the Tanzanian troops arrived in Kampala, our Ugandan women hugged, kissed and made love to them. What more do you want?" Binaisa asked, prompting laughter from most of the delegates and noticeable discomfort from the Libyans and Sudanese. Binaisa graphically described some of Amin's atrocities—his delegation had previously circulated a photographic dossier entitled "Amin's Bloody Rule"—saying, "I know I might turn your stomach. But these are the truths that must be spoken. For too long when we tried to say these things, we were told to get lost. But fascism is fascism, regardless of color, and Amin killed as many as half a million people."

Turning to face the Libyan delegation, Binaisa condemned Qaddafi's military support for Amin, adding, "We will forgive but never forget." The conference hall exploded with applause. But Binaisa agitated the delegates and received only scattered applause when he urged official OAU condemnation of the Central African Empire (where Emperor Bokassa's regime has been accused by Amnesty International of murdering students) and Equatorial Guinea (where torture is reportedly widespread). "History will blame you if you do not act," Binaisa lectured. He concluded by saying, "Long live Africa, long live the OAU"—and then paused and added pointedly—"but the struggle continues."

As chair of the meeting, Obasanjo, inexplicably, decided to read aloud a message from a pro-Amin group calling it-



President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

self the Uganda Action Convention, which accused Tanzania of "deceit and treachery." When those words were read, the conference hall was shaken by moans and shouts of protest. Binaisa demanded that the message not be read, Obasanjo at first resisted, and then adjourned the session in turmoil and confusion. It was the nastiest public debate at the OAU, and many delegates were distraught that it took place in full view of the press.

The controversy was resolved the next day behind closed doors. Binaisa agreed to drop his proposed resolution condemning Equatorial Guinea and the Central African Empire, and the OAU made no criticism of Tanzania's intervention in Uganda—an implicit vote of support for Nyerere. The OAU also decided to convene a special session in the next year to draft a human rights charter, including specific sanctions for states that violate the human rights of their people.

To avoid the necessity of unilateral interventions, like Tanzania's invasion of Uganda, in the future, the OAU proposed the creation of a "Pan-African Defense Force." Some countries also want this proposed "blue helmet" peacekeeping force to be available for use against South Africa and Rhodesia.

The Ethiopian representative said the creation of an all-African defense force to help liberate southern Africa was necessary to overcome the "humiliation" of the so-called African defense force proposed by France and nominally assembled and dispatched to Shaba province in Zaire to help Moroccan troops suppress local insurgents. But the creation of a Pan-African Defense Force is still fraught with political problems, and it will be studied for at least another year before it is established.

Development conference scheduled.

The OAU's Secretary-General, Edem Kodjo, stressed that Africa must develop its economic potential in order successfully to challenge South Africa. Citing Africa's chronic underdevelopment, and the pessimistic forecasts of African economists about the continent's economic future, the OAU decided to hold a special session in Lagos, Nigeria, next January to discuss development strategies. The conference—"Africa 2000"—will try to lay plans to increase food production, develop indigenous industry, increase regional cooperation, and aim toward the eventual establishment of an African Common Market.

Other OAU resolutions called for the establishment of a Pan-African news agency headquartered in Senegal; urged countries to take "legal and educational measures to abolish female circumcision (still common in places like Somalia) and child marriage"; and demanded that Western countries crack down on the recruitment of mercenaries (President Albert Rene of the Seychelles Islands said, "Mercenarism is not one of the Western technologies we need to import").

The convening of the OAU in Monrovia, Liberia, gave the 16th summit an incongruous American flair. Liberia, founded by freed slaves from the U.S., is a small—population: 1.7 million—

piece of Americanized Africa. The ruling American-Liberian elite—about 5 percent of the population—controls a government modeled after Washington.

President William Tolbert's ruling party is called the True Whig Party. The flag is a familiar red, white and blue (with one lone star); the paper currency is U.S.; and the latest New York disco music blares from nightclubs and bars.

Liberia was also specifically colonized as a Christian nation, and while much of the population living in rural areas is Muslim or practices local African religions, Protestant churches and gospel music radio programs imported from Chicago are prevalent in the capital.

Liberia is perhaps best known to many Americans as the home of Firestone's rubber plantation—the largest in the world, producing 5 percent of the world's rubber and 33 percent of the world's latex. The 220-square mile plantation is reminiscent of the old American South: a company town complete with low wages, company housing, a company church, a company store, and even a company courthouse and jail. During a guided tour of the plantation, an angry worker took me aside to dispute the company spokesperson's public relations spiel, saying he earned only \$180 a month after 20 years of service—and insisting that the 12,000 employees are locked in a fight with management to establish a union.

Tolbert seeks more foreign investment.

The Tolbert government is actively seeking increased foreign investment in Liberia. At the OAU summit, Liberia distributed a color brochure offering "Freedom from taxation, nationalization, currency and exchange controls, import and export duties, and government and labor pressures" to any corporations willing to set up in Monrovia's new industrial free zone.

The brochure featured a photo of a worker in a hard hat with the caption: "Hire me! I am skilled, hard working, reliable and inexpensive, and there are many like me in my country. Give us a chance to help you make good profits in Liberia." However, in a series of interviews with workers in and around the industrial zone, I found widespread dissatisfaction. Wages average only \$250 per month for skilled work.

Liberia has long boasted of its political stability and its tranquil population. But last April, demonstrations erupted over a dramatic price hike in the cost of rice—the staple food. Forty-one people were killed, hundreds injured, and some \$35 million in property destroyed. Leaders of the opposition Progressive Alliance of Liberia were detained. As a result of the violent protest, the increase in the cost of rice was rescinded and a kind of truce was negotiated—at least for the duration of the OAU conference. But unless the Liberian government allocates a greater share of the nation's wealth to its working population, continued tension is likely.

Stephen Talbot is African editor of *Internews* and is currently filming a documentary in Africa on U.S. involvement.

A TALE OF Four Cities

By James Ridgeway



Hartford shoppers get groceries at low prices at farmers' markets, where community garden produce is sold.

Four American communities provide examples of approaches to solving the energy crises that have gripped urban America. While each community has devised plans unique to its problems and circumstances, the solutions have some things in common: in each case, city politics, with broad citizen support, has been the vehicle for change; in each case, certain individuals with expertise and vision have been crucial to the success of the plan; and each community has tapped into local energy resources not previously exploited.

Hartford While other American cities struggle to cope with a worsening energy crisis, this small Northeastern capital is primarily concerned with simple survival. Though Hartford is home to a booming professional and service economy, centered around the insurance industry, it is also a city of unusually high structural unemployment, thanks to the flight of factories to the South.

Hartford's leaders, centered on the office of Deputy Mayor Nicholas Carbone, have created new economic options for the under-employed, under-skilled half of the city. They seized on the mounting energy crisis as a springboard for a new approach.

The most successful of its ventures to date may be an urban food plant that will put to work unemployed

youngsters growing food for the city's low income population. Since a great deal of energy is consumed in the production, processing and transportation of food this attacks energy costs, and at the same time provides decent food at cheap prices.

Like other communities in New England, Hartford imports 85 percent of its food, much of it by truck, which is especially expensive. As a result, food costs are 6 to 10 percent higher than the national average. Food chains, which now control 57 percent of the retail food, are pulling out of the inner city. They cite dilapidated stores, high insurance costs and security risks as reasons for the pullout.

In a study prepared for the city, environmental planner Catherine Lerza proposed sharply increasing the number of community gardens. She suggested that unemployed youth be hired with Labor Department fund to grow food for their own families and for those who need emergency food relief.

By emphasizing labor-intensive growing methods, the high energy cost of food production could be greatly reduced. According to specialist David Pimentel of Cornell University, "The use of fossil energy in the United States high-energy intensive food system substitutes for the work of more than 79,000 man-hours, or more than 30 times our current (agricultural) labor input."

Lerza believes that it may be possible to extend the growing season in Hartford through introduction of solar greenhouses, with cold frames as complements. Greenhouses last for 20 years and are not expensive. She urges widespread adoption of buying clubs, coop stores, and coop warehouses. Small farmers in the Hartford area can be lured away from the big regional pro-

duce terminals outside the city, and encouraged back into the city's farmers' markets. Through small community canneries, canning can result in food cost savings from \$25 to \$75 per household per year.

According to Lerza, "The system substitutes the labor of Hartford residents for the labor of Western farmworkers, cross-country truckers and local warehousemen and supermarket checkers. The proposed food system is not a job-creation strategy. It is a proposal to channel some of the surplus labor of under-employed Hartford residents into the provision of services to themselves."

By 1978, Hartford's Food System operated more than 400 community garden plots where families grew their own food. The city plans to expand the number of plots available and to build two solar greenhouses this summer, both in low-income neighborhoods. Last summer, the system employed about 75 youths on seven acres of land in and adjacent to the city. This summer, some 150 youths work in the expanded program. The city hopes to add three more farmers' markets in the near future, as well as three new food buying clubs in low-income areas.

Hartford is pioneering programs aimed at energy conservation. Among the most important is a scheme for more efficient energy use in city buildings. In the past, each municipal building was billed by the utilities or oil dealers on a separate account. Fran Daniher, the city's energy conservation coordinator, persuaded the utilities and oil dealers to provide the city with a tape from their computers for each of the 180 different buildings. The city developed a basic measurement for comparison, the energy unit index, and can now call up energy information on any of its buildings, compare the energy use against past use or use in other buildings. Hartford now wants to provide this sort of energy audit information for other institutions or municipalities.

Hartford also contracted with a neighborhood group to study possibilities for the manufacture of solar appliances. The city asked the Technical Development Corporation in Boston to assess the study. Technical Development narrowed the options to two major entries, designed by a Hartford citizen—a solar science kit and a solar concentrator. Both have good possibilities for securing a fair share of a widening market.

The report also proposed a new organization for solar manufacture within the city. This organization will involve private and public sectors, with representation from neighborhood groups, the city and private industry, and be financed by public funds.



Davis residents ride double-decker buses to work.

Davis In terms of energy consciousness, Davis has a jump on most of America. It began developing its energy-saving path back in 1968 when a progressive city council, supported by ecology-minded students and professors from the University of California here, decided to put the brakes on the unchecked growth spreading in from nearby Sacramento.

The most important aspect of the Davis plan began in 1973, even before the Arab oil boycott. Residents were troubled by rapidly rising costs of electricity and natural gas. A group of architects, professors and students persuaded the university and city council to support a study of how energy could be properly conserved in Davis buildings, many of which are apartment complexes.

The energy study showed that apartments that faced either east or west were especially hot during the summer and required large amounts of electricity to run air conditioners. In winter, apartments with south windows needed much less energy for heating than apartments facing in other directions.

The city council approved an ordinance providing performance standards for new construction. The code regulates the amount of window area in relation to the floor area. If more glass is desired, then architects must arrange it on the south-facing portions of the building, or employ thermal glass. The amount of unshaded glass

is strictly limited. Light colors (to better withstand the sun) must be used on the roof, and requirements for insulation are upgraded.

Plans for new buildings are carefully checked by city officials, who put scale models of proposed buildings under a solar simulator. The simulator is a gadget with light bulbs cauted at different angles to represent the rays of the sun on different days of the year. In this way you can get a quick idea of whether a proposed building is properly positioned on a lot, whether there is too much glass, whether the glass is properly shaded, and so on.

Two years after the city began to enforce its energy-conscious building code, electricity consumption dropped 12 per cent per customer in the community. While the number of customers increased by seven percent from 11,600 to 12,500, the total consumption of electricity by all customers declined by six per cent. Since 1973, electricity consumption per customer in Davis declined by nearly 18 per cent.

Contractor Michael Corbett, who had built more than 100 homes in Davis, told a review committee that since passage of the code, his company had been "able to sell about 70 percent of our houses without air conditioners, and this was unheard of through the 60s and early 70s. People are not objecting at all and are happy that they are saving energy and still living at a comfortable temperature."

Since the code took effect, Davis has expanded its efforts to conserve energy. There are 25,000 bicycles in town, and Davis has built a complex of special paths and set aside bike lanes on public roads. City Hall maintains its own fleet of bikes for employees who need to shuttle on the job. To further cut down on cars, Davis has a fleet of London double-decker buses that are run around the city as a jitney service. In addition, the city is ridding itself of big cars and trucks, and replacing them with compact or subcompact models.

Davis wants to narrow its streets, and takes pains to be sure they are well-shaded. Research has shown that neighborhoods with narrow, shaded streets are 10 degrees cooler in summer than neighborhoods with wide, unshaded streets. A citizens' committee has surveyed all the trees in the city, and makes sure to see that new trees are planted in accordance with a general plan. Until recently, Davis made heavy use of pesticides to control insects on trees and shrubs. Now the city sprays with water, and has introduced biological control for pests. The City Council has designed different kinds of solar houses as models to encourage to formally adopt such buildings in their major complexes.

Davis even passed a law to formally and solemnly sanction the clothesline.



Seattle consumers get free water heater insulation.

Seattle

W A S H.

This city, long favored by cheap and abundant energy from dams in the High Cascades, is now in its fourth year of a long term energy plan that doesn't depend on more dams, nuclear power, or more oil. Seattle is attempting to run its great urban machine on conservation. The city's goal is to save 230 megawatts, or 19 per cent of total electrical usage, by 1990. About 85 megawatts, or eight per cent, can be saved by new building codes alone, according to the city's energy code project manager, Dick Fiddler. "It would cost us \$150-\$200 million if we had to develop that amount of power through new utility construction," Fiddler said. Seattle is encouraging public transit in the city and county and is exploring alternative, local energy sources. The city's energy office is also conducting a massive long-term conservation education campaign for homeowners.

Seattle's unique energy path began in 1975 amid a prolonged debate over the scarcity of new dam sites and the need for more nuclear reactors. A classic battle between "no growth" environmentalists and pro-growth government officials and utility executives might have ensued, had it not been for Pete Henault.

Henault was a nuclear engineer with Seattle City

Light, the nation's third largest municipally owned utility. He was assigned to conduct a review of the environmental issues, the economics and the options of a new and ambitious nuclear energy plan. Enjoying great respect both in nuclear and anti-nuclear groups, Henault suggested that disinterested consultants from other parts of the country should be brought in, and that a representative citizens' committee should be formed to launch a broad energy review.

The city utility was then in the midst of an employee strike. Utility officials, who might otherwise have tried to oversee the work of the review committee, were kept busy dealing with the strike. The energy review thus proceeded with uncommon freedom of action. For over a year the committee heard thousands of hours of expert testimony on the merits and problems of nuclear energy, and the options for avoiding it. Then, after considerable controversy all through the spring of 1976, the City Council finally passed, by a narrow margin, the committee's recommendations.

New building codes are the centerpiece of the city's conservation scheme. A code for residential housing was passed in 1974, mainly affecting insulation and passive solar heating. A new code aimed at commercial construction is expected to pass the city council this August. A principal energy-saving feature of the code involves office buildings. "We can reduce the amount of light used by simply giving people the opportunity to turn lights off when they're not needed," said Fiddler. This means installing local rather than centralized light switches. Fiddler believes some 20 to 30 megawatts can be saved over the next decade through the new lighting designs.

In the long term the city's energy plan intends to use land in the downtown area more coherently, to mix living and working space in a more dense pattern and to reduce energy consumed in commuting. Already,



Behind the Colorado desert lie fields irrigated with recycled water.

Northglenn

COLORADO

In the mid-1950s when this suburban community north of Denver was built, urban planners hailed it as a model of what planned urban growth could become. Instead, Northglenn was soon caught in the life or death struggle waged in this region between unchecked urban sprawl and productive agricultural land use.

At the heart of the struggle is water, the most precious resource here on the Eastern slope of the Rockies. Under Colorado law, domestic water users, meaning cities, prevail over agricultural users. Gradually, as urban bedroom communities like Northglenn spread out across the plain from Denver, agricultural land use has declined and farmers have been forced out. Land development, tax base, economy—all depend on acquiring sufficient amounts of water.

However, the battle for water in Northglenn has produced an unusual solution that could stand as an example to both farmers and cities throughout the region. Northglenn has struck a deal with local agricultural interests to "borrow" their fresh water, and then recycle it back to them with "interest."

Northglenn's water shortage first became apparent in the early 1970s. Northglenn employed the engineering firm of Sheaffer & Roland, Inc., of Chicago, a recognized expert in wastewater schemes.

Runoff water from the Rockies that is owned and used by the local Farmers Reservoir and Irrigation Company (FRICO) for agricultural purposes will be loaned to Northglenn, which will then recycle it and return it to the farmers, adding a 10 percent water bonus. About 60 percent of the borrowed FRICO water will be actually returned to the farmer. The rest will be made up from new deep wells and collection of storm runoff.

The FRICO water will be treated before it enters the

Seattle is offering free downtown bus service to curb automobile use.

The most astonishing change in the city is political rather than technical. The city council and the new mayor, Charles Royer, are allied against the public utility, which has been wedded to abundant cheap electricity.

As a result of fights in the early 70s over rate structure, the utility created an environmental affairs department to appease its critics. It also established a conservation department and an energy office under the mayor. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the council made the utility superintendent accountable to the council.

Now the utility has begun an inquiry into different sources of energy. It is examining, for instance, the possibility of establishing coal-fired power plants, fueled with deep mine coal reserves located in the state of Washington and is discussing the prospects of importing coal from the Beluga fields of Alaska. City Light will experiment with biomass production, by growing black cottonwood and red alder along power line rights-of-way. These trees mature in four to six years and can be harvested mechanically with giant scissors. The wood could be mingled with coal, garbage and other materials and burned to create electricity. And the city is investigating the possibility of wind and solar energy. Hydropower is a backup power source. A solar collector has been developed by the utility and probably will be patented with an eye to later sales.

Most important is the utility's gradual change in emphasis away from generation of large amounts of cheap hydropower to conservation and alternative energy technology. And there is at least an inkling that a move towards alternative technology may well mean decentralization, an idea that could result—one day—in the reorganization of the utility itself.

municipal system so that it meets both state and federal drinking water standards. After the water is used by the city, sewage water and the deep well and runoff water will be collected for treatment in aerated lagoons that will remove harmful bacteriological organisms and suspended solids.

The city will obtain an inexpensive supply of high quality water and substantially less expensive wastewater treatment. The farmers will actually get back more water than they give up, and it will have the added nutrient value of the treated sewage. And in an age of soaring populations and shrinking food supplies, essential agricultural land will be preserved in production.

The Northglenn water management program will improve the air quality of the region. The Denver region has a severe air pollution problem, and cannot meet standards for ozone, particulates and carbon monoxide. Improved air quality is achieved by preserving 80,000 acres of farmland. The vegetation and the soils of the land will act as a sink for the air pollutants generated from nearby urban areas. And the land will not be converted to low density residential development, which would encourage widespread use of the automobile, a prime factor in Denver's pollution problem.

Also, because land wastewater treatment systems do not employ chemicals to achieve the desired levels of treatment, the energy use of such a system can be less than one half of the entire use of an advanced waste treatment plant. And, of course, it can result in reduced need for manufactured fertilizers in irrigated areas. Energy is further conserved when these petrochemically derived fertilizers do not have to be manufactured, transported and applied to the crops.

(©Pacific News Service 1979)

This report was excerpted from *Energy-Efficient Community Planning, a Guide to Saving Energy and Producing Power at the Local Level*, by Jim Ridgeway (JG Press, Inc.). The book can be ordered from ITT, 1509 N. Milwaukee, Chicago IL 60622 for \$9.95 plus 50¢ shipping charge.

LETTERS

A REPLY TO ERIC FONER

AS CO-AUTHOR OF AN ARTICLE TITLED "The Hidden Rosenberg Case: How the FBI Framed Ethel to Break Julius," which appeared in the June 23 *New Republic*, I was surprised to find Eric Foner's open letter to the editor of *NR* in *ITT* (July 11). As a sponsor of *ITT*, a committed socialist and an historian who has concentrated on the Cold War era, I found Foner's letter an example of the very "intellectual bullying" of which he accuses *NR*. He attempts to use his own standing as a fine historian of 19th century America to undermine our work, by charging that Sol Stern and I used "circumstantial and tainted evidence" and produced a piece "unworthy of the canons of historical scholarship."

Foner has not read our article carefully. If he had, he should have been able to understand that Stern and I never sought to provide "evidence...concerning the 'crime' for which the Rosenbergs were executed." We argued that the government was sure they could get a conviction for conspiracy to commit espionage in 1944-1945, and wanted to use that power to gain evidence for new indictments pertaining to post-war activities.

We concluded, after substantial investigation, that Julius Rosenberg was involved in a post-war espionage operation; that the government indicted and then executed his wife solely as a hostage against him, and that Ethel Rosenberg's indictment was gained as the result of tainted evidence delivered at the 11th hour.

We argued in the article that the Rosenberg trial took place in a heated Cold War atmosphere—exactly the point Foner accuses us of neglecting. The government, we concluded, "was committed to its own big lie...the theme that the Rosenbergs were jointly responsible for changing the course of history to the disadvantage of the U.S." We showed, for the first time that the information passed to the Russians by Klaus Fuchs included a complete sketch of the A-bomb, its components, and details of the implosion process. The FBI knew what Fuchs had transmitted, but this information was kept from the judge, the jury, defense counsel and the public. The Fuchs data undermines once and for all the claim made by Judge Kaufman that the Rosenbergs had stolen the "secret" of the A-bomb.

Foner complains that we drew improper inferences from the evidence about the disappearances of individuals associated with Julius Rosenberg, disappearances he says "are consistent with other interpretations and explanations." But since he doesn't offer any, the point cannot really be argued. There is no room here to recreate the chain of reasoning that led us to the conclusion that espionage was going on. I can only suggest that readers consult the original article, and our lengthy exchange with critics in the August issue of *NR*.

More important is Foner's attack on us for drawing upon memos to the FBI from an informer, Jerome E. Tartakow, who was Rosenberg's cellmate at West Street. He makes general admonitions that many on the Left will automatically accept—one should not trust information from informers, etc. But Foner never deals with the specifics of the Tartakow memos.

Contrary to what Foner states, we did take the Tartakow memos initially with a "grain of salt," until we saw that the memos paralleled the story James Weinstein told us independently.

It is not clear what Foner would have us do with the Tartakow memos. Reading Foner's letter, it is clear he does not

want to try to separate accurate details from questionable allegations in Tartakow's memos—but simply to disregard his reports altogether. But it makes no more sense to discount Tartakow's 300 pages of memos entirely than it does to take everything he said as being true. The good historian swallows his distaste for informers and uses material that can be substantiated, even if it leads to unanticipated conclusions.

Finally, our findings lead us to the strong belief the Rosenbergs did not have a fair day in court. Both of them failed to have their constitutional rights protected. That is sufficient cause to support the demand of all the Rosenberg activists—to have the case re-examined by a high level commission.

Sol Stern and I are confident that a new and impartial investigation will produce the paradoxical conclusion that so many people now find hard to digest: that a gross miscarriage of justice occurred, but that there was also espionage.

—Ronald Radosh

BOAT PEOPLE

THE CRIMES JOAN BAEZ ACCUSES Vietnam of committing are too serious to excuse, as some of her critics do, on grounds they would not have occurred had the U.S. not invaded and half destroyed the country. On the other hand, they have shown some of her sources to be unreliable. She has not proven her case, though her critics have not disproven it either. We need to know more.

But the debate has passed over a much graver matter, the expulsion of the "boat people." Here there can be no doubt about the Vietnamese regime's culpability. Wilfred Burchett's article (*ITT*, July 18) merely rehashes the official Hanoi version of events. He blames the victims, he blames China. But he avoids even mentioning the enormous scale of the catastrophe: at least 500,000 people, according to all sources, have fled, and about half of them have drowned. About a third are not even Chinese. How can Burchett be satisfied with an explanation that would have half a million active fifth columnists or "malcontents" who deserve their fate?

We sense a similar obtuseness in the letter by Stickney, Clarke, et al., to Joan Baez (*ITT*, July 11). They suggest that Vietnamese authorities are blameless and genuinely "concerned" for the refugees. The blame, they say, rests on the U.S. for failing to provide aid. No one of us should cease from demanding U.S. reparations to Viet Nam, but it is odious to imply that the absence of U.S. aid justifies the virtual expulsion of hundreds of thousands of people, extortion of nearly all their possessions, and even the toleration of jammed, unseaworthy ships departing Vietnamese ports.

Whether it wishes to bring accusations against Vietnam or not, the American left should add its voice and support for rescue efforts in Asia and increased quotas here.

—Michael Ferber
—William E. Forbath
New Haven, Ct.

BURCHETT

I AM EXTREMELY DISTURBED AT THE treatment the Chinese minority has been receiving at the hands of the Vietnam government, and most particularly the Chinese who were resident in North Vietnam and were loyal citizens of the DRV for more than 25 years. Wilfred Burchett's journalism is of dubious quality. He long ago proved himself to be a conduit for propaganda handouts of the government in Hanoi. Burchett

disgraced himself for all time by being the first important left journalist in the West to come to the defense of the Pol Pot regime when it was still considered a friend of the government in Hanoi.

Burchett grievously misled the American left into denying the atrocities the Pol Pot regime committed even though these atrocities were on a genocidal scale and were a complete perversion of socialist values. I am not aware that he has ever apologized for so badly misleading people on Cambodia.

He is misleading us again on the Vietnamese treatment of the Chinese. We should carefully consider in what way their treatment of the Chinese minority in Vietnam differs from the U.S. government's treatment of the American Japanese in 1942 when we evacuated them without exception from the West Coast. Can socialists uphold the policy of collective punishment for an entire people?

Secondly, on Vietnam itself. There are many good things that can be said about the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. However, I also think that the present regime in Vietnam is influenced by strong nationalistic and even chauvinist attitudes. Their approach excludes those who are not Vietnamese and would probably leave an unpleasant feeling with the Chinese minority in Vietnam.

My feeling about this subject is influenced by experiences with Chinese Communists in the Philippines in 1944, where I learned that anti-Chinese discriminations marred their own lives and activities. (I learned that the Communist-led Hukbalahap did not include Chinese troops during the anti-Japanese resistance, but that Chinese Communists in the Philippines had to organize their own resistance units in Luzon. There is a widespread anti-Chinese attitude in all Southeast Asian countries.

—Sid Resnick
New Haven, Ct.

NATIONALIZE ENERGY

IT WAS GRATIFYING TO READ JOHN Judis' fine article on ADA (*ITT*, July 4), particularly his positive comments on the resolution to nationalize energy resources and the energy industry.

As the ADA delegate whose amendment to nationalize was approved by the convention, and who is a subscriber and supporter of *ITT*, I suggest that the proposal is more than historical. While I admire Leslie Lobel, who is given appropriate credit for her excellent staff work on this issue, I believe the time has come for a practical stance on the matter. Let us, ADA, progressives and socialists, urge the introduction of legislation to develop public resources for public purpose, instead of for private interest.

A national political movement is indeed required, as Judis states. Why not begin to build it on the issues, such as nationalization of all energy resources?

—Bertram A. Weiner
New York City

FIGHT THE DRAFT

IN HIS LETTER URGING THE LEFT NOT to fight against the return of the military draft (*ITT*, June 20), Richard Greeman makes some good points but comes to the wrong conclusion. I think the left should oppose the reinstitution of the draft. As Greeman points out, the Vietnam War is a good example of why drafting college educated youth generates opposition to imperialist wars.

But why wait until middle class sons and daughters are drafted to oppose U.S. interventionism? In the post-Vietnam era, the revival of the draft has been sought by the cold warriors as a signal that Washington will play a more aggressive role in global affairs. Many arguments advocating the draft are designed to build public support for a more interventionist foreign policy.

The struggle against the draft is a con-

crete way to combat this growing militarism. In addition, one lesson of the Vietnam War is that with a draft law on the books, it is easier for Washington to intervene to prop up a corrupt, anticommunist tyrant, heading a Third World country allegedly vital to U.S. economic and security interests.

Had the draft not been in effect during the 1960s, and the American people had to approve reinstituting conscription to raise a 550,000 strong expeditionary force to fight in Vietnam, it is highly unlikely that war would have happened. Peacetime conscription allowed the war to be gradually escalated through deception and increased monthly draft quotas, thereby avoiding a serious debate over the war until casualty rates soared. By that time, it was difficult to reverse the war's momentum.

—Jack Colhoun
Washington, D.C.

A GOOD FIVE CENT SOCIALIST

AS A RULE, I LOOK FORWARD TO reading *ITT* and I find myself impatient with the postal service. Sometimes, as with the June 27 issue, I find myself growing impatient with you. When I read your coverage of the letter from Roy Medvedev, I was disturbed. I feel I can read about the abusive power of the Soviet state anytime in any readily available capitalist rag.

Any conscious person knows that there is no political democracy in the USSR. The USSR is a repressive society—Americans have little difficulty perceiving this. What we do have problems perceiving is the lack of political democracy in this country. It seems a waste to devote an entire page of one of the few socialist papers in the country to kicking a dead horse thousands of miles away. This article revived my uneasiness about two domestic political events of the past year.

In the Cleveland election, you came close to cloaking Kucinich in the populist clothing that he pretends to wear. The SWP was correct in pointing out that the *Muny Light* issue was a fraud and that what was important was the raising of the payroll tax. The working people of Cleveland were given a choice that was no choice at all. Nothing that the mayor has done or will do will make any difference in the lives of the people of Cleveland, and by lending a cloak of respectability to his populist clap-trap you have only helped to obscure the real nature of his politics.

Obfuscation seems to be what you contributed to the Chicago election as well. Now we are given a disciple of the rotten Daley machine as a possible populist hero. The two socialist opponents you dismiss with great economy. Do you expect me to believe that the working people of Chicago are in good hands now that they have been delivered to Queen Jane?

—Mark Elich
Takoma Park, Md.

CORRECTIONS.

1. Last week's issue should have been dated Aug. 8-14, 1979. It was misdated July 30-Aug. 8.

2. Photo on page 5 was mistakenly credited to Syd Harris, who was not credited for his picture on page 6.

3. The photos of Russel Means and tribal government Chief Whirl Wind Horse were reversed on page 13.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

RICHARD L. SKLAR

Full autonomy is the stumbling block in the Mideast treaty

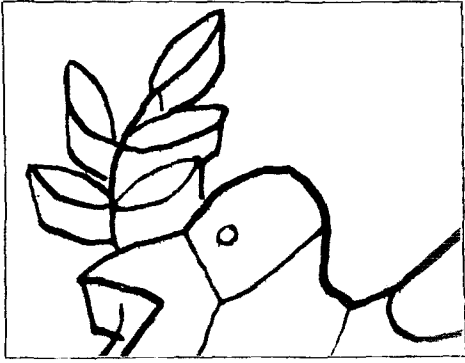
THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN Egypt and Israel is a venture in hope and prayer. It is based upon an agreement to disagree about the very issue that could result in another round of warfare between the parties. That issue involves the meaning of "full autonomy," as prescribed at Camp David for "the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza."

¶ Egypt holds that "full autonomy" must lead directly to unimpeded self-determination for the Palestinians. To that end, Egypt's delegation to the tripartite (Egypt, Israel, U.S.) autonomy negotiations proposed a "declaration of principles" that would specify the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people. Israel's conception of "autonomy" is ambiguous if not contradictory. It does not include the right of self-determination.

Israel's tortured stance on this central question could be the consequence of an identity crisis that pervades her public life. What is Israel? Is she the country where Jews have a state? Or, is the Jewish State ancient Israel reborn?

If Israel is conceived as a state for the Jewish people, security for that state and its people would be the principal political imperative, as it is for the pragmatic and secularist members of the parliamentary Opposition. If, however, the Jewish State is Israel reborn, it might be expected to grow until it fills out the entire "promised" land, at least all of western Palestine, as in the metaphysical conceptions of the *Herut* (Freedom) Movement and the dominant faction of the National Religious Party.

The issues that arise from this question of identity take precedence over every



other political, social, and economic issue in Israeli life. Questions that arise from such mundane matters as the structure of economic production or the protection of constitutional liberty fade to comparative insignificance in the shadow of the only question that really matters in Israel today, the question of Jewish national destiny. So long as that question continues to dominate every aspect of Jewish national life, the issues of liberty and social inequality will be marginal to public debate in the Jewish community.

In the Palestinian Arab community, the issues of liberty and equality are basic to the quest for Palestinian national rights, including self-determination. Arabs, of course, are not preoccupied with the alternative forms of Jewish national destiny. Until that question has been exhausted, if not settled, by the Jews themselves, it will be difficult to maintain a politically fruitful dialogue between representatives of the two communities.

The present Government of Israel is determined to reconcile the concept of "full autonomy" for the Palestinians with the doctrine of the "promised land." Prime Minister Begin and Ariel Sharon (the Cabinet member who coordinates settlement policy), among many others,

hold that Jews are legally and morally entitled to settle in all parts of the Land of Israel. Knowing that it would be impossible to gain international (or American) recognition for exclusive Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza, they would settle for *de facto* control of these areas without exclusive legal sovereignty. Such an arrangement would be consistent with local autonomy for the Arab and Jewish communities of the "administered territories," but it would be incompatible with the right of national self-determination for the Palestinian people.

Opposition leaders, in the tradition of secularist Zionism, are security-minded and committed to practical arrangements that correspond mainly, if not solely, to their perceptions of national security. Presumably, they would be willing to concede the right of self-determination to a Palestinian national entity that had both accepted the principle of demilitarization and ceded specific security zones to Israel. For sentimental reasons, they would also insist upon a few additional concessions in the East Jerusalem-Etzion region. Since the idea of a new partition at the expense of the Arabs has been spurred by Jordan and the Palestinians, the proportions of the problem are truly Solomonic.

In a letter to President Carter, appended to the Camp David Agreement, President Sadat stated that Egypt would "assume the Arab role" required for implementation of the provisions that relate to the West Bank and Gaza. In her performance of that role, Egypt cannot make effective concessions on behalf of Jordan or the Palestinians. She can and must continue to assent the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. That undertaking is the bedrock of Egypt's venture for peace without dishonor.

The Government of Israel could not long thwart, on biblical grounds, Palestinian demands for self-determination. It can only do so as an imperative of security. Were the Palestinians to accept the essence of Israel's security argument, their demand for self-determination would become virtually irresistible. Israeli leaders disagree vigorously about many aspects of military security. But there is little disagreement among them about the need for physical occupation of the Jordan River Valley and control of the adjacent deserts of Judea and Samaria, which lie east of the fertile and populated areas of the West Bank, as a barrier against potential assaults from Jordan.

In return for concessions with respect to land and the existence of Jewish com-

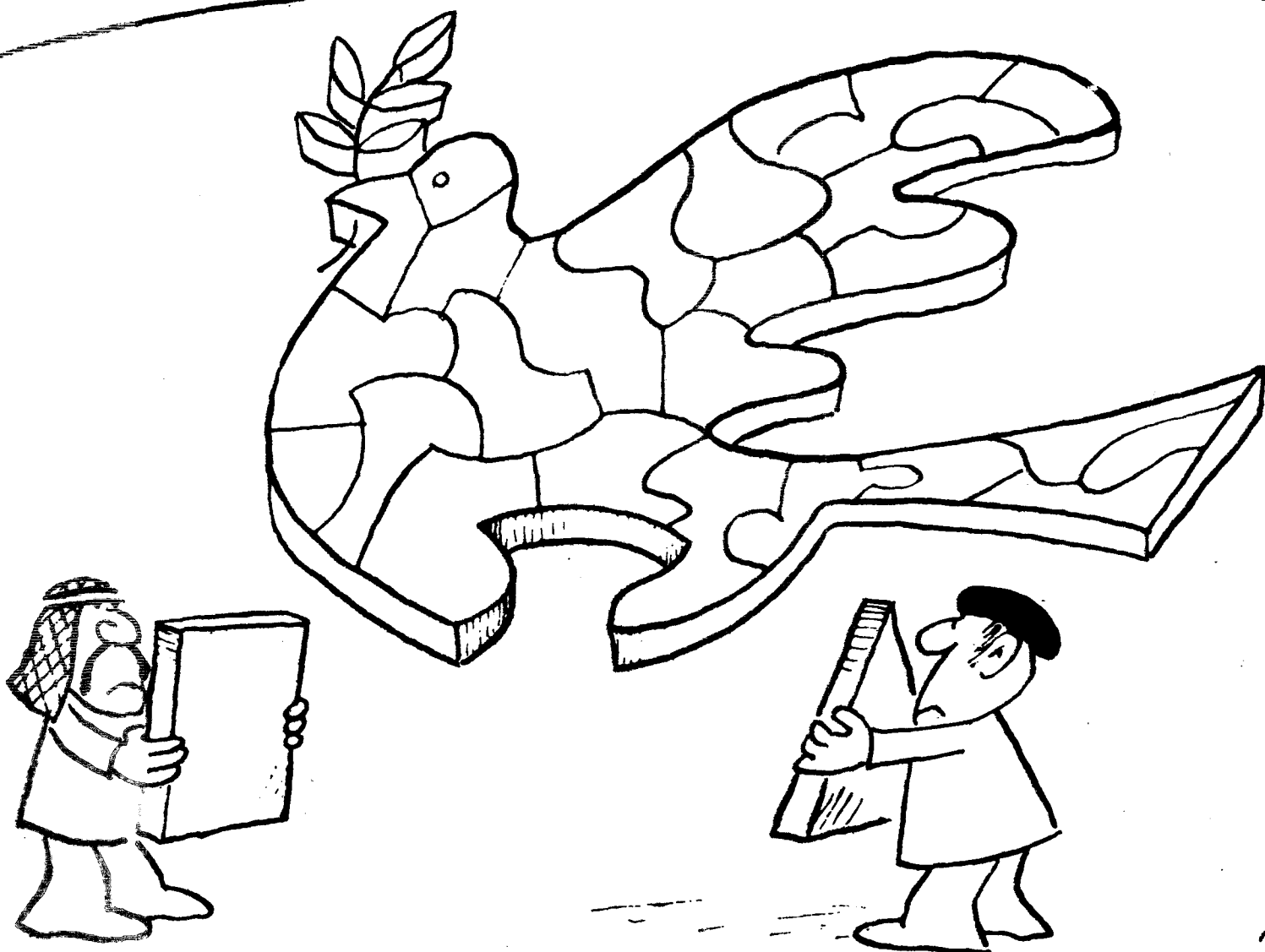
munities in the West Bank and Gaza, the Palestinians might ask for comparable concessions with respect to Arab regions and communities within Israel proper. Israeli Arabs today (15% of the total population of Israel) are the unwanted stepchildren of Palestine. They are citizens without a country. Their plight as a people in quest of its national identity has been depicted with compelling clarity in a recent paper by Dr. Moshe Sharon, formerly adviser on Arab affairs to Prime Minister Begin, thus: "Both Jews and Arabs live in closed societies here, in many ways xenophobic ones. And Israel's stress on its special nature as the country of all Jews whether or not they are or plan to be citizens, push Israeli Arabs to stress even more their emotional, national and political identification with the Arab world."

In the absence of any possibility of common identity, the maximum the State of Israel can demand of its Arab citizens is to be loyal, law-abiding citizens. No more. Their feelings, their aspirations, their emotional attachments, do not belong to Israel, and cannot be taken as positive factors in regulating Jewish-Arab relations."

The vast majority of Israeli Arabs live in predominantly Arab sections of northern Israel. Many of them might choose to exercise their rights of citizenship in an Arab state. The logic of reciprocal rights of citizenship for Arabs and Jews in the two sovereign states might appeal to Israel, which could then offer its own Arab citizens the choice of an alternative nationality in return for Arab agreement to the principle of a Jewish presence in Arab Palestine. In each state, individual Arabs and Jews could be given the right to choose between citizenship by residence or by ethnic nationality. This proposal could be particularly attractive to Israelis who wish to preserve the Jewish character of Israeli politics in the Galilee, where an Arab majority may soon be in the offing.

A compromise of this sort could ease the Jewish dilemma of security or destiny—safety for the Jewish State vs. the right of Jews to live in all parts of the Land of Israel. Then it would become possible for the two communities to undertake dialogues on other pressing questions. Egypt could bring that process to pass by continuing to insist upon the indefeasible right of the Palestinians to national self-determination.

Richard L. Sklar is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles. He has recently visited Israel.



ROBERTA LYNCH

Baez believes—but only in ideas, not realities

I HESITATE TO JOIN A DEBATE already crowded with celebrities, fueled by deep passions, and characterized by a lack of hard data. But the question of what is happening in Vietnam today—and the response to it in America—is too vital to ignore. ¶ It all

began, appropriately enough, on Memorial Day weekend, when Joan Baez and some other luminaries of the anti-war movement placed a full page ad in several major newspapers, accusing the Vietnamese government of serious violations of human rights.

The ad drew the praises of old war hawks, who saw it as an affirmation of their policies, and the fire of former anti-war activists, who saw it as a political betrayal.

It also drew the attention of the press around the country. And for the first time in recent years Vietnam began to emerge as something more than a backdrop for Robert DeNiro's fantasies of manhood or Francis Coppola's egomania.

Stripped of metaphors, we found ourselves once more facing a *real* country in the grip of recovery from a *real* war.

In that light, the Baez letter emerges as a shameful and insipid document—despite its moral grandiosity and its appeal to universal humanitarian standards.

I say this not because I am convinced that every word of it is vicious fabrication, nor because I believe the Vietnamese are incapable of error, nor because I think a socialist country should be immune from criticism.

I say it because the Baez letter attempts



to stand outside of history, a posture at once arrogant and absurd.

Joan Baez claims that she believes in people, not systems. It would be more accurate to say that she believes in ideas, not realities. She believes in love, brotherhood, reconciliation, non-violence. She does not appear to believe in minefields, famine, intrigue, sabotage, treaties.

Yet in Vietnam today the former must grow up in the rocky soil of the latter.

Take the accusation that the Vietnamese people are being "used" as human mine detectors. Then look at the reality. Put in the simplest human terms: to love you must survive; to survive you must eat; to eat you must farm a land that is still alive with the buried vindictiveness of American mines. To love then, in the real world of Vietnam, you may first have to risk an arm, a leg, even a life.

This is no perverse policy of the Vietnamese government. It is rather the result of the perversity of our own government, which first impregnated the land with these deadly devices, and which now refuses to provide the sophisticated mine detection equipment that it promised as part of the Paris Accords.

Like so many of the awesome problems that confront Vietnam today, the necessity for human mine detection is a reality shaped—and daily perpetuated—by the United States.

This is the shame of the Baez letter: Not that it criticizes the Vietnamese government, but that it fails to criticize the U.S. government which devastated that nation and now refuses to honor its commitments for post-war aid.

Vietnam is a country in crisis. Baez complains of prisoners being fed "starvation rations." The reality is less sinister and far more disastrous. There is a critical food shortage in *all* of Vietnam—and a good part of the population is living on what might be considered "starvation rations."

Much has been made of this economic dislocation in the capitalist press—how "socialism doesn't work"—as though a nation might simply be expected to rise anew like a phoenix from its own ashes. Joan Baez and her co-signers conspire in this view when they fail even to mention the terrible destruction from which Vietnam is seeking to recover and the broken American promises that have frustrated that task.

After World War II, the United States committed huge sums to the rebuilding of Europe, including our former "enemy" Germany, through the Marshall Plan. Yet today our government denies Vietnam the \$3.4 billion in post-war aid that it promised as a *condition of peace*. Moreover, it denies recognition to the government of Vietnam and imposes a strangling trade embargo on that country.

It seems to me irresponsible at best and nearly inhumane at worst to criticize the Vietnamese without at least sketching this larger context in which our own country plays such a decisive—and damaging—role.

On the other hand, many of Baez's critics have displayed their own brand of irresponsibility. By far the most egregious of these was media-appointed spokesman William Kunstler's comment: "I don't believe in criticizing socialist governments publicly, even if there are human rights violations."

Such a posture represents a tragic repetition of one of the most lethal failings of the American left historically: the inability to develop a humane vision of

socialism—and to openly differentiate that conception from any practices in the existing socialist countries that violated its essence.

The fact is that most of us in the U.S. today do not have sufficient information about the situation in Vietnam to make reliable judgments on many of the issues that have been raised. This is why the Baez letter is so misguided. But it is also why any unequivocal refusal to question Vietnamese policies is equally misguided.

After all, it is history, not Joan Baez, that places these questions before us. And while we may know all too well the distortions, and even deceptions, of American propaganda, we should also know by now the fallacy of simply closing our ears to such charges.

The left in America has a particular responsibility to Vietnam. Whatever difficult choices presently confront that nation, there is no doubt that their harshness could be mitigated if the United States fulfilled its promises of aid. Changing our government's policy in this regard is critical.

We also have a responsibility to the principles of democracy and freedom that are at the core of the socialism many of us seek to build. And this requires that we seek out the facts—as best we can from the distances of geography and experience—and speak whatever truth we find.

It is not a matter of people vs. systems—or ideals apart from reality—as Baez would have it. People do not exist outside of systems, and ideals distinct from reality can all too easily become empty rhetoric. The great historical questions, measured in terms of their effect on millions of lives, are how to make systems serve people's needs, and how to filter ideals through the often harsh prism of reality.

This is the difficult task that the Vietnamese have set for themselves on an economically and culturally devastated terrain. We aid them not by any mistaken commitments to a solidarity of silence, but by our pressure to change American policy and by our own faithfulness to the essence of this project.

Roberta Lynch is a national officer of the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization. ©In These Times.

BOOKS

"What if" is root of sci fi, and of history

By William Appleman Williams

THE CREATION OF TOMORROW:

Fifty years of magazine science fiction.

By Paul A. Carter.

Columbia University Press, \$13.95.

Once the reader disentangles the convolutions of Paul A. Carter's collage of narrative and thematic organization, this becomes an engaging and stimulating book. It was for me a time machine that transported me back to the years when science fiction (armed with a flashlight under the bed covers) waged intergalactic war for my soul against jazz, basketball, pool, model airplanes, and girls.

That is the best kind of nostalgia, I suppose (or hope), but Carter correctly understands that as one of the major themes of science fiction. As with Nathan Schachner (and others), Carter is a practicing historian who has also written science fiction; and that raises very important issues.

As you may have heard, academic historians have fallen upon sour days. The orthodox explanation, which offers a rational if partial truth, emphasizes the transformation of the college-university into a fief of the corporate political economy. But as Carter senses, there is more to it than that: a failure of the imagination and an elitist refusal to communicate with the citizenry.

The cornerstone of all science fiction

is what Auden called the soul of poetry—asking "What If?" Proper professional academic historians consider that question irrelevant if not quixotic. But it is the root of the matter. For only by asking "What If?" can the historian develop a comprehensive understanding of what did happen. Or why alternatives were not seen, or seen only to be rejected. In this vital sense, speculation (or imagination) is the essence of realism.

The second issue is only slightly less important: how does the historian define the audience? Here Carter makes the same point as David A. Clary, Chief Historian of the U.S. Forest Service (and other first-rate historians in similar non-academic positions). To use an idiom that I find useful, History is a way of learning; and hence the historian must define the audience in the broadest and most inclusive way. Indeed, it is the body politic. Otherwise history becomes the silly putty of academicians.

History informs us about the what and the why, and the consequences thereof, and so incites us to consider alternatives. As my Ph. D major professor once said to me: "if the nonsense of the profession is too much for you, take your training and become a first-rate newspaperman, a commentator, or a novelist." Carter (and Clary) understand all of this, and that is why the book is important.

As I hinted at the outset, I think Carter would have served all of us better if he had conceptualized his book as two relat-

ed essays. The first as a straightforward narrative history of the nuts-and-bolts of magazine science fiction. The second as an exploration and analysis of, and commentary upon, the central themes of those tales. But this is a problem indigenous to writing and teaching history—whether of the past, present or future—and there is no easy answer. I offer my judgement as fallible.

Even so, if you have the interest and the patience to sort it all out, Carter provides an enormous amount of information about the key personalities and their philosophies, the literary and graphic art or lack thereof, and the political economy of publishing science fiction. But Carter's primary concern is with the themes, and he deals with them in ways that should give pause to orthodox socialists and other radicals—let alone professional academic historians.

The first time through the book I produced a list of 21 themes. The second time I refined it down to 15. And the third trip produced 7. Since it is a good piece of work, I am sure readers will disagree with me and each other—let alone Carter. But here are my thoughts:

1. *Mindless optimism*: based on an act of faith in scientists, technocrats, and a bargain with an honest Devil;

2. *The Frontier Psychopathology*: endless escape from failure into boundless resources and lack of restraint to try the same old things over and over and over;

3. *Male capitalist chauvinism*: even in

the stories ostensibly predicated upon females taking charge of the corporate system;

4. *The Romanticized Past*: the world-weary at Walden Pond or slavery a la robots and Everyman as a mindless Ky. Colonel plugged into the pleasure principle;

5. *Entropy*: it all winds down only to begin again;

6. *Everything is up for grabs*: nobody knows from nothing; and

7. *We can learn from History*: stop projecting and indulging in linear projections of the present into the future or the past. That is to say, stop fretting about a higher-or-lower standard of living by present standards and get on with imagining and then creating a different standard of living.

I have the hope that Carter will understand me when I suggest that you also read all the adventures of *Alice in Wonderland* and an old edition of *Mother Goose's Nursery Rhymes*. At least once a year. After all, wasn't it Alice who gave H.G. Wells the idea for the Time Machine: as I remember, something about running ever harder to stay in the same place.

But who wants to stay in this place? ■ William A. Williams, President-elect of the Organization of American Historians, is the author of *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, *The Contours of American History*, and *Empire as a Way of Life* (forthcoming). His column is a regular feature of *In These Times*.

IN DEPTH

Which socialism does the Pope oppose?

By Joe Holland

THE MAINLINE PRESS GAVE good coverage to Pope John Paul II's visit to Poland. As the press noted, he received extraordinary support from the Polish people, but was received with apprehension by Communist Party officials. His popular welcome and his outspoken words were strong enough to question the legitimacy of the Polish government, but he was careful to keep criticism within safe bounds.

Neither he nor the government wished to provoke a popular uprising nor the inevitable Russian intervention. But he pointedly criticized Communist persecution and harassment of religion, and even the Russian domination of Poland. He publicly repeated the story, banned from Polish textbooks, of how the Red Army, during the 63-day Warsaw Uprising against the Nazis, stood off in the distance and waited for the Germans to strangle Polish resistance in order that Russian domination could be easily imposed.

The experience seared the souls of a whole generation of Polish youth against the Russians. No doubt the experience also marked John Paul, since he was an active young leader in the Resistance.

But rather than repeat the details available in the mainline press, I would like to share here some reflections on three questions occasioned by the visit. First, who is this new populist pope? Second, what is the meaning of the experience of the Polish Church for the wider Catholic world? Third, what is the position of the pope and the Polish Church on socialism?

A populist Pope.

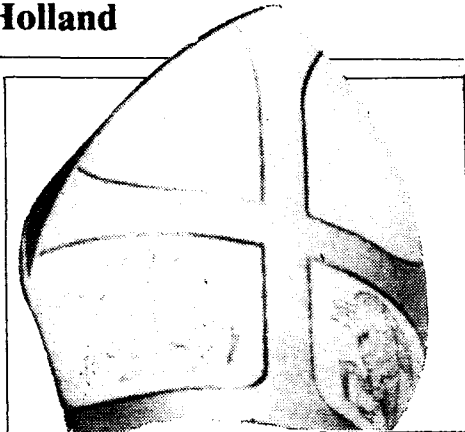
Karol Jozef Wojtyla, now Pope John Paul II, is a remarkable person. A relatively young man in the papacy, he could easily have 25 years ahead as pope—time enough to make a profound mark on the future of Catholicism, world Christianity, and even global civilization. Already he has won the hearts of millions across the world. He is a bold and personable man who actually enjoys being pope. He will undoubtedly continue to engage the papacy to its fullest with the great social and spiritual questions of our time.

As a young man he was a worker in both a stone quarry and a chemical factory. He was also an aspiring poet and actor. From both these bases—the labor movement and the theatre—he participated in the Polish anti-Nazi resistance and was constantly in personal danger for rescuing Jews. Before entering the seminary, he frequently escorted a young Jewish woman, partly for her personal protection.

Later he pursued his university studies in the underground. He worked as a priest with migrant workers in Belgium, and still later as a bishop he led resistance against Russian bureaucratic communism.

In 1970 and 1976, there were major workers riots in Poland, and he defended the workers against the Communist Party and state repression. Similarly, he has been a strong defender of intellectual freedom and freedom of the press, in addition to religious rights.

This is a man who has known oppression his whole life, just as Poland has known oppression—from Nazis, Prussians, Nazis, and Russians—early in its



whole history. In the words of a Polish Jew who is a close friend and translator of one of John Paul's books on philosophy, "his whole life has been lived in the midst of rage."

He has been perceived by many, however, as a traditionalist opposed to the new left political initiatives of some church people. This perception is founded in the traditionalist style of the new pope, a style rooted in the peculiar history of the Polish Church. But in my judgement, beneath the traditional veneer, there is a radical substance. He is, so to speak, a radical in traditional clothing.

The great question is which will dominate as he leads not only the Church of the East, but also the crisis ridden Church of the West and South of the globe—the style or the substance? He is the head now of the world's largest religious organization, with more than 700 million members, many of whom are experiencing different kinds of suffering and oppression across the world.

I personally believe he will identify more and more with their suffering. If he does not, his pontificate may be the greatest tragedy of 2000 years of Christian history. If he does, we will be moving into a fundamentally different Catholic experience.

The Polish Church.

The Polish church is unique in the Catholic family. It has retained a strong traditionalist form, insulated from the liberalizing experience of advanced industrial capitalism, which has reshaped the Church of the West, and from the radicalizing experience of repressive periphery capitalism which has reshaped the Church of the South.

The natural tendency is for Church conservatives in the West and the South to support him as a defender of faith and freedom against "atheistic Marxism." Indeed his election as pope may in part be due to this perception by certain conservative cardinals.

Another possibility, however, is for church radicals to meet him half way—to take more seriously the Communist harassment of religion (as well as the abiding spiritual hunger of the human family.) Currently, however, the main tendency by Christian radicals is to downplay Eastern European Communist religious harassment and anti-religious prejudice (as well as to develop a highly secular political style which speaks little to traditional spiritual needs still pervasive in modern experience).

I recall being in Brazil last year for a meeting of Latin American liberation theologians, and raising the question of whether the struggle of the Church, workers, and intellectuals in Brazil was not in some ways similar to the struggle of the Church, workers, and intellectuals

in Poland. The discussion focused on a manifesto being drawn up. It was decided not to signal the linkage, but I cannot help but feel that if the Latin American Catholic Left had made the linkage, the new Polish pope might have perceived Latin American liberation theology less awkwardly.

Similarly, the international Christians for Socialism Movement, born in Chile out of Liberation Theology, has strong bases in Western Europe, North America, and the Third World, but virtually no base in Eastern Europe. Is that because there are no humanistic Christian socialists in Eastern Europe, or is it because the problem takes a different face there?

My conclusion, therefore, is that while the Polish Church is unique, and the problem of the Church in all Eastern Europe is different from that in the West and the South, religious socialists would do well to develop a comprehensive framework sensitive to the distinct struggles in the West, East, and South, or First, Second, and Third Worlds.

If the new pope is met half way, I suspect his return embrace will be strong. Thus far, however, religious socialists have underplayed these questions, further strengthening the hand of the Right within the Church and the society at large.

The question of socialism.

It is important to distinguish three different areas in the pope's criticisms in Poland—nationalism, democracy, and socialism. The pope was strong in his criticism of a government marked by unaccountable bureaucratic authoritarianism and by external national domination. This is quickly interpreted as a rejection of socialism.

But, to my knowledge, while the pope lashed out at authoritarian bureaucracy and national domination, he did not reject the socialist vision. During his earlier visit to Mexico, when asked by a reporter

how he felt about socialism, his response was, "which socialism?"

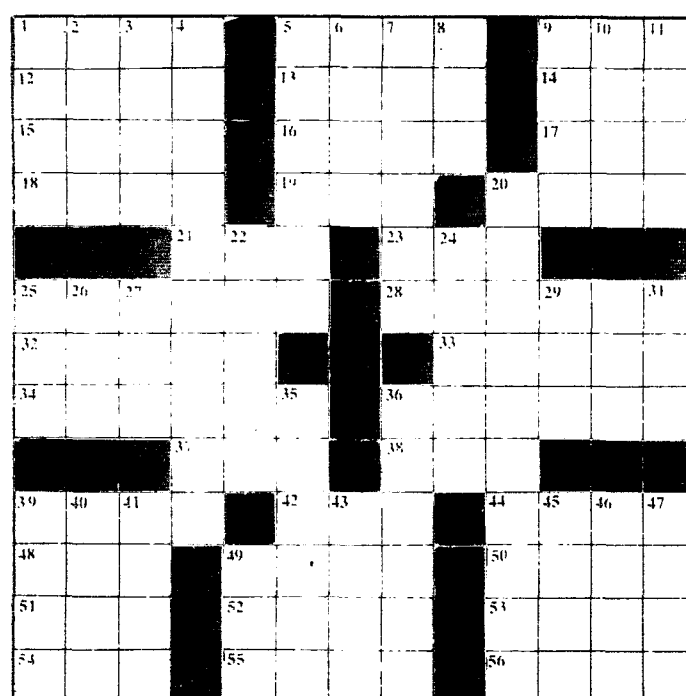
My personal impression is that the churches of Eastern Europe increasingly distinguish the socialist vision from its two crippling problems of authoritarian bureaucracy and Russian domination. According to a study published several years ago by IDOC/Rome, the recent Vatican strategy of *ostpolitik* is predicated precisely on the viability of socialism, not its rejection. The strategy attempts to make socialism faithful to the best elements of its vision, and to revise the socialist interpretation of the religious experience.

According to a report by the Italian *NTC News*, a 1976 document from the Polish bishops confirms this interpretation. The study, analyzed in *Il Mensile* by Ruggero Orfei, says that the communist and socialist Marxist parties of Italy and France are increasingly legitimate defenders of workers interests and general human rights, especially as they move toward democratic process (in contrast to the Eastern Communist Parties).

The study further points out that the changes in contemporary Western Marxism are not simply tactical, but substantive—such that in certain Western European countries almost half of the priests vote for the Left. Turning to Russian Marxism, however, the study is more critical, especially on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Finally, the document evaluates the possibility of being Marxist and Christian. The evaluation moves toward a nuancing not present before in Catholic teaching, and ultimately indicates it is a matter of personal decision. The study, if representative, suggests a growing opening to socialism by the Polish bishops, while simultaneously critiquing authoritarian bureaucracy and national domination.

Joe Holland is an associate of the Center of Concern, a Catholic policy study institute, Washington, D.C.



Nicaragua et al.

By Jay Shepherd

ACROSS

- 1 Soviet news agency
- 5 American folksinger
- 9 Recede
- 12 Utah ski center
- 13 Melville novel
- 14 Chinese card game
- 15 Nicaragua's second city
- 16 Baseball team
- 17 Front part of a ship
- 18 Guide
- 19 Genetic factor
- 20 First name of "Das Kapital" author
- 21 Nigerian tribe
- 23 Greek letter
- 25 Vice-President whose middle name was Vance
- 28 Series of hydrocarbons

- 32 Have efficacy or force
- 33 White of an egg
- 34 Long-haired film star
- 36 Make tight
- 37 Neighbor of La.
- 38 Spell or charm
- 39 Summer drink
- 42 W.W.II battle area
- 44 Twist or curl
- 48 Hasten
- 49 Hold back
- 50 Reclined
- 51 King of Judah
- 52 Wife of Zeus
- 53 American writer: James _____
- 54 Fowl
- 55 Type of race
- 56 Remark

DOWN

- 1 Lofty
- 2 To the sheltered side
- 3 Portico
- 4 Nicaraguan fighter for liberty
- 5 New World culture
- 6 Deposed leader
- 7 Musical composition
- 8 Garden tool
- 9 Scene of Napoleon's first exile
- 10 Ill-mannered person
- 11 Rose or Orange
- 20 Resurgent secret organization
- 22 Misrepresent
- 24 Microscopic water plants
- 25 My _____ Sal
- 26 _____ Gardner
- 27 Ethiopian prince
- 29 Corrode
- 30 Never, in Berlin
- 31 Sea bird
- 35 County seat of Devonshire
- 36 Frequent Socialist candidate
- 39 Reza Pahlavi
- 40 River into the Seine
- 41 Prominent Watergate name
- 43 Period
- 45 Shakespearean villain
- 46 Russian negative
- 47 "Battle of Wounded _____"
- 49 The oorial

The answer to the previous puzzle:

BARD SHAG BEAME
ALEE AURA ARIES
NEWJERSEY LILTS
RAPT SIC
ARI TRUMAN AMIN
BUTZ ERASE ACE
STEED EXPEL TET
RID BASAL TASTE
ERA NAIAD STOW
DEBS JORDAN ITE
LEO MOON
CAREY KISSINGER
ELOPE IDLE CEDE
TINTS DIAL EROS

PERSPECTIVES

"Junkie chic," female, is the disorder of the day

By Elayne Rapping

I REMEMBER THE EARLY SIXTIES WITH NOSTALGIA. THOSE were the days when "the problem that ha(d) no name" in Chapter I, was christened "the Housewife's Syndrome" by Chapter II and miraculously pronounced cured by Chapter XIV. It seemed that women had been sold a bill of goods about being fulltime wives and mothers. It was depressing and fatiguing to stay home baking bread, den mothering Cub Scouts and fighting waxy buildup. ¶ Women all over America began returning to school, opening little businesses, founding slick magazines and teaching their husbands to make the bed.

You would have thought that would be that. But no. Seemingly set in their masochistic ways, women have something new to depress and fatigue them. It might be called The Problem Betty Friedan Forgot to Warn Us About, or Who Is That Liberated Woman in the Slit Skirt and Why Is She Taking All Those Pills?

Everywhere you look—from *Cosmo* to *Working Woman* to *Ladies Home Journal*—you'll see a kind of "junkie chic" inching its way up from the Health department to the feature story level. The problem of female drug and alcohol abuse is the latest social epidemic.

It's not surprising that men are be-

coming impatient. After all, women seem to be getting a bigger and bigger piece of the pie and they're still not happy. They're still having more trouble getting through the day than men.

In fact, the statistics on female addiction are alarming and far from amusing. Women receive more than twice as many prescriptions for tranquilizers as men. As many as 2 million women are thought to be dependent on such drugs. At least half the alcoholics in the U.S. are now women. And of every 10 persons who wind up at hospital emergency rooms for drug problems, 6 are women.

There are certain pat explanations for this trend. Women are more prone to ask for help and to seek out and follow psychiatric advice than men. Male doctors

are more likely to dismiss women's complaints as trivial and neurotic and therefore to carelessly prescribe mood alterers. And women traditionally deal with problems by turning inward, self-destructively, rather than outward, to physical violence.

But all these partial truths neglect one new fact. The women who are turning to drugs and liquor are not, by and large, unfulfilled housewives who stay home baking for spoiled children and awaiting a bacon-bearing mate. On the contrary, they seem to be the fairly young and reasonably successful "new" breed who juggle a job, motherhood, marriages, divorces, lovers, and still make time to keep their hems up to date.

Just skim the covers of the thirty-odd women's magazines and you'll begin to get a clue about what's driving women to drink. Hitting you all at once will be what seem like, and actually are, the problems of the entire universe. Women, it seems, are still responsible for keeping their homes and families comfortable and attractive, and for preparing nourishing meals. Only, now this is done against the grain of galloping inflation, tight budgets and work schedules, and a barrage of contradictory information about cost and nutrition differentials of organic vs. packaged foods, generic vs. brand names, too much cholesterol vs. too much starch.

All this, while spending eight hours as an underpaid, sexually harassed worker, (few women have "careers" or work out of pure choice) and then handling all the emotional fallout that is the "reward" for having achieved a "two career family." I have yet to see a column in *Business Week* telling men how to deal with their new family responsibilities. Neither Milton Friedman nor Paul Samuelson has tackled the issue of how Daddy is to help the kids adjust to Mom's new life.

But women must still pick up the anxious vibes of hubby and kids and assuage them. If everyone else's Mom still sews their Halloween costumes, well, *Woman's Day* says stay up all night and bathe your eyes in cucumber juice. And *Cosmo* says hire a (usually black) nanny. As for hubby himself, the advice is pure

Marabel Morgan. Get out the black negligee and grit your teeth.

And for those who don't survive the bliss of the two career utopia, there are the problems of financial independence and single parenthood. Do you rent or mortgage? Do you tell your kids about your lovers? Your lovers about your kids? And what about those cellulite blobs on your thighs? Why aren't you running?

The point is that the Housewife's Syndrome has been replaced by the Wonder Woman syndrome. Somehow, when women asked for a piece of the pie they got stuck with the whole bakery. Yes dear, you *can* fly high, conquer evil and make the world safe for democracy. But when you're through you must put your little dress on and trudge home to those who need you to wait on them and make them feel loved and important.

In fact, in a rational society the demands placed on the modern woman would be quite normal and even deserve to be called "opportunities." After all, every human being is capable of, and should be, living a life including fulfilling emotional relationships and meaningful work.

But capitalism is far from rational and its treatment of women, even at its best, has been far from humane. The kindest answer to the Woman Question in America has been, "Go ahead and accomplish all you want. Win the Nobel Prize. Climb Mt. Everest. But be sure to finish your chores first and be home for dinner."

It's a tribute to the feminine character that so many women do so well at this giant task. It's even surprising that more don't turn to chemicals or resort to violence.

But as Michelle Triola once said, "Enough is enough." The marketplace has been manipulating women to fill its shifting needs long enough. It's time women started pushing back and demanding that our institutions and the men who profit from them start doing some of the really hard work of keeping life going and making it worth living.

Elayne Rapping teaches English at Robert Morris College in Pittsburgh.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION



WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Edited by Nita Keig

The women's liberation struggle has spread to countries all over the world with remarkable speed. This book analyzes the origin and nature of women's oppression from historical and materialist viewpoint. It examines the position of women not only in advanced capitalist countries but also in the colonial and semicolonial countries, and in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and China.

Prepared as a resolution for the Fourth International, the world socialist organization, this book presents a systematic strategy of how women can best organize to fight their oppression.

93 pp., \$1.95

Make checks payable to: Pathfinder Press, c/o In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622 (include \$.50 postage).

Institute for Democratic Socialism Youth Conference

Thursday Evening, August 23 through
Monday Afternoon, August 27

SNPJ Camp, Enon Valley, Pa.
(West of Pittsburgh)

- Join Michael Harrington, I.F. Stone* Sara Evans, Millie Jeffrey and other leading activists
- Discuss socialist strategy and movement building on and off the campus
- Workshops on socialist theory, labor movement, anti-nuke and anti-apartheid organizing, socialist/feminism and others.

*tentative

REGISTER NOW! Send \$10 reservation or full cost (\$65, includes all meals and housing). Car pools & limited scholarships available.

To register (and for more information) write:
INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM
853 Broadway, Room 617 / New York, N.Y. 10003
Phone: (212) 260-3270

LIFE IN THE U.S.

PUBLIC HEALTH

By Todd Bregan and Michael Uhl

The long-term health effects from exposure to dioxin, a chemical in herbicides, have become a major public issue in this country. Both civilians and Vietnam veterans have discovered that exposure to dioxin can result in cancer, increased miscarriages, birth defects and other health problems. The Veterans Administration has become a case study in bureaucratic chicanery. Meanwhile, grass roots efforts have sprung up to stop the use of dioxin and to win damages for injuries to veterans and to their children.

Dioxin is shorthand for Tetrachlorodibenzo-p-dioxin (TCDD), an unwanted by-product created when 2,4,5-T is manufactured. It may be one of the most toxic known compounds. The US Air Force dumped over 54 million pounds of 2,4,5-T on Vietnam between 1962-71. Mixed in equal parts with 2,4-D this spray was code-named Agent Orange. During the same period of time, 72 million pounds of 2,4,5-T was used domestically in the U.S.

In March, 1975, the EPA ordered an immediate suspension of some uses of 2,4,5-T—primarily the spraying of forests to retard hardwood growth. The EPA based its unusual order (only the second one issued in EPA history) on studies of pregnant women in Alsea, Oregon, who reported increases in miscarriages and birth defects following periods of defoliant spraying. Predictably, Dow Chemical and the other herbicide manufacturers are attempting to overturn the EPA's order. About sixteen months ago, first reports appeared that Vietnam veterans may also be suffering from symptoms associated with dioxin exposure (ITT, July 19-25, 1978).

Cancer and mutations

One of the world's eminent authorities on dioxin, Dr. Ton That Tung of Vietnam, reports that liver cancer, virtually unknown before the defoliation program began, is now the second most common type of cancer in Vietnam. Tung finds that children in sprayed areas of Vietnam were seven times more likely to have unusual chromosomal abnormalities than were children in non-sprayed areas. He also reports an increase in aesthenia, a weakening of the eyes, among those who lived in defoliated areas. A US study reported a similar trend among American workers who had been exposed to dioxin during an industrial accident.

Vietnamese allegations concerning birth defects and miscarriages finally forced the US to officially end the spray program in May, 1970. One type of generic birth defect, *spina bifida*, in which a child is born with a separated spinal column, has increased 500% in the past twenty years.

The problem occurs in the US as well. Carol Buchholz, a national officer of the Spina Bifida Association recently noted that at a meeting of parents of children suffering spina bifida on Long Island, 33 of the 50 fathers present were Vietnam veterans. The Women's International League of Peace and Freedom says its top priority is now a campaign to stop spraying of herbicides, because of increasing evidence of genetic damage.

A year ago, Citizen Soldier, with the help of two doctors, Susan Dahm and Jeanne Stellman, sent a six page medical questionnaire to veterans. Over 3,500 Vietnam vets from all fifty states responded. Jeanne and Steven Stellman, doctors with the American Health Foundation, a leading environmental research organization, analyzed the first 536 questionnaires.

In this preliminary study, which will be published shortly in a major medical journal, the Stellmans found 50 cases of birth defects, 100 cases of cancer, and 100 cases of other health problems. The researchers also found that 100 veterans had been exposed to Agent Orange while in Vietnam. The researchers also found that 100 veterans had been exposed to Agent Orange while in Vietnam.

Dioxin poisoning spurs tests, protest



Planes spray herbicide containing dioxin (above); left, a veteran's child, with birth defect.

Dioxin exposure can cause cancer and birth defects. The VA would like to forget it all. One vet described his physical: "The doctor pushed me against the wall three times. 'You don't have it,' he said."

Citizen Soldier, the American Health Foundation, and Barry Commoner's Center for the Biology of Natural Systems jointly filed a freedom of Information Act request seeking from the Veterans Administration current names and addresses for all veterans living in the metropolitan New York region. Scientists will choose a "control" group of veterans from this population, whose health histories will then be compared with those of the 2,000 veterans who have already submitted questionnaires.

Federal chicanery.

The actions of the Veterans Administration since the Agent Orange controversy first began breaking nearly a year and a half ago present a classic case-study of bureaucratic maneuvering and chicanery.

Last summer, Congress ordered the GAO to conduct a probe into veterans' claims that they had been harmed by Agent Orange while in Vietnam. The GAO concluded that enough evidence exists to warrant an extensive study of long term health effects on veterans. At first, the Veterans Administration had simply denied that any health problems existed. VA chiefs abandoned this position once thousands of Vietnam vets complained of chronic health problems. In September, 1978, the VA ordered each VA facility to examine all veterans who claimed they had been harmed by Agent Orange.

The VA's first step was to conduct an extensive study of long term health effects on veterans. At first, the Veterans Administration had simply denied that any health problems existed. VA chiefs abandoned this position once thousands of Vietnam vets complained of chronic health problems. In September, 1978, the VA ordered each VA facility to examine all veterans who claimed they had been harmed by Agent Orange.

questionnaires as to their experience with the VA. 90 percent said they were "dissatisfied" with the VA's handling of their case:

- One Philadelphia vet described his exam for Agent Orange: "The doctor told me to stand facing the wall. Then he pushed me three times. 'You don't have it,' he told me."
- A vet in Manchester, N.H. who has suffered from a host of unexplained ailments went to his local VA for an exam. Before he could say a word the doctor told him, "you don't have Agent Orange." After looking down his throat with a flashlight, the doctor reminded the vet that the facility didn't treat throat and sinus problems.
- A New Jersey vet reports that the VA doctor asked him nothing about Agent Orange exposure, even though he knew that the vet had recently undergone surgery to remove a cancerous testicle.

Dr. Paul Hapel, the VA's chief spokesperson on Agent Orange, downplays the possibility that dioxin is linked to the veterans' chronic health problems. In a recent *New York Times* interview he said, "There is no clearly defined body of symptoms that anyone can ascribe to Agent Orange. The studies you see concern rats, dogs, baboons, but not living humans."

Scientists agree

Scientists agree that it remains to be learned about the long term health effects of dioxin. While there is agreement on the fact that dioxin is a potent carcinogen, there is disagreement on the extent of the health effects. Some scientists believe that dioxin is a potent carcinogen, while others believe that it is a weak carcinogen. The VA's position is that dioxin is a weak carcinogen, and that the health effects on veterans are not significant.

Federal studies are now underway. The VA will conduct its own study; Dr. Michael Gross, a University of Nebraska chemist, will take fat tissue from ten exposed vets for comparison with samples taken from vets who were not in Vietnam. The Air Force will conduct an epidemiological study of 1,200 airmen who worked directly with the defoliation operation, code-named "Operation Ranchhand." Finally, HEW will expand an on-going study of the health effects on workers when a factory that manufactured 2,4,5-T exploded in Nitro, West Virginia in March, 1949.

Some scientists have pointed out that these studies were designed without input from outside scientists. David Kriebel, a public health biologist at the Center for Biology of Natural Systems in St. Louis commented on the VA's proposed fat testing, "You can't extrapolate from such a small sample to a couple of million men."

The absence of the toxin in the veterans' tissue does not rule out the possibility of dioxin poisoning, according to Dr. James Allen of the University of Wisconsin Medical School. "The dioxin may disappear over time and we'll just see the effects without detectable levels in the tissue," concludes Allen, who has published a number of scientific papers on dioxin. Allen's own research showed that when barely-measurable amounts of dioxin (five parts per trillion) were fed to lab rats, marked increases of cancer resulted.

The Air Force will not complete its study of the Ranchhand spray teams until 1985. There are questions about how applicable the Ranchhanders' experience is to the more numerous infantry troops. Among Ranchhanders pilots entered the C123 aircraft through a hatch and rode ahead of the spray mist. Loaders and flight mechanics were often doused with the herbicide. The ground combat troops were subjected to still a different type of exposure. Infantrymen were often directly sprayed upon, and drank water and ate locally grown vegetables and fruits probably laced with dioxin.

The HEW's study also may be of limited value in determining if Vietnam veterans suffer from dioxin-related ailments. "Chronic (the vets) versus acute (the workers) doses are going to act quite differently," David Kriebel told ITT.

The tendency to "in-house" design may be mitigated by a new fifteen member "advisory panel" composed of scientists and physicians (one Vietnam vet—from the Disabled American Veterans—represents those affected) to monitor the government's research and outreach effort. James Allen has accepted appointment to the group.

Lawsuits and marches

Lawyers are preparing to file damage suits against herbicide manufacturers, seeking compensation for injuries suffered by veterans and their children. In January 1979, environmental lawyer Victor Yannacone filed a class-action suit in Federal District Court in New York. In this novel action, he asks that the court designate 4.2 million Vietnam veterans as a "class" and asks that the manufacturers be compelled by the court to create a \$4 billion trust fund, from which both veterans and appropriate federal agencies can draw for compensation and treatment for the victims.

Another team of lawyers, led by Boston Musslewitz of Boston, has been working with Oliver Bonnell, a veteran, to sue Dow and other manufacturers on behalf of individual veterans and their families.

On June 28, veterans and their families marched in New York to draw attention to the health effects of Agent Orange. The march was held in front of the United Nations Secretariat Building. The marchers carried signs and banners demanding that the VA and the federal government take action to protect the health of veterans and their families.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



The Art Ensemble of Chicago, long well-known in Europe, is gaining a U.S. reputation.

New sound from black roots

By Douglas Clark

"Ladies and gentlemen, the Art Ensemble of Chicago."

Five black men take the stage. Three are dressed in vivid African garb and their faces are lined with paint. One has on a white lab coat over his street clothes, and the fifth man is dressed like your next door neighbor. Each man takes his place; then they all turn toward the East and stand silently for a moment. Now the concert may begin.

An Art Ensemble concert is an unpredictable affair. Saxo-

phonist Roscoe Mitchell may blow a solo which begins as bop and ends as free jazz, or vice-versa. Lester Bowie, the man in the white lab coat, will experiment with the entire history of jazz trumpet, posturing and playing like Dr. Jazz incarnate. At times Joseph Jarman may ignore his rack of reed instruments in favor of a conch shell, a duck caller or a marimba. At some point Malachi Favors will probably put down his bass to strike a pose or do a soft-shoe. Don Moye may leave his drum set to create a symphony of whistles, gongs, sirens, ankle bells, ratch-

ets and bicycle horns.

A recording is too small a vessel to contain the drama of the event, which spills onto the stage in colors and pantomime. Even so, the quintet has recorded frequently. But refusing to make commercial concessions has meant poor promotion and distribution, and limited air play.

"I've heard some African music, I know if the public heard it they would dig it," says Malachi Favors. "But the record companies put out what they want to put over, and then tell you that this is what the people want to hear."

The Art Ensemble has a proportionately smaller following in the U.S. than in Europe. In Paris or Rome, says Lester Bowie, "I have to sign autographs on the subway. Do a concert and there's 3000 people there. Favors adds, "The audiences in the States are just as hip as the audiences in Europe, but they're smaller here."

Although it is true that the Art Ensemble's music does not fit easily into any standard radio format, jazz is its keystone. It draws on New Orleans marches, blues, bebop, loungey ballads, and the fiery free jazz of the '60s. Still, Art Ensemble members

don't call their music "jazz." They call it "Great Black Music," because they feel a kinship not only with jazz but also with African drumming, chant, calypso, gospel music and other idioms within the world of black music. The Art Ensemble is committed to shaping its heritage to fit a contemporary context.

The Art Ensemble first began getting together on Chicago's South Side in the 60s. In 1969 the group, then a drummerless quartet, went to Europe. There the band acquired its drummer and a degree of notoriety. They played clubs and concerts and made recordings but barely broke even. In 1971 the five men scraped together enough money to return to the U.S. Throughout the 70s the group has pieced together its existence with grants, workshops, concerts, outside projects and a once-in-a-blue-moon extended engagement at a jazz club.

Spirituality is an important element in the Art Ensemble's work. Painted faces, for instance, are not simply theatrical devices. "In Africa," explains Favors, "the paint represents the spiritual element. It takes the individualism out of the rites."

Commenting on John Coltrane's music, Ravi Shankar once remarked that he could not understand how such turmoil could come from such a spiritual man. The same can be said of the Art Ensemble of Chicago. They are men of peace, but tension is at the heart of their music. Musically, there is a triangular tension between traditional folk elements (such as a bebop beat or the blues), art elements (their often complex compositions), and the spontaneity of free jazz.

But the fundamental tension arises from the Art Ensemble's struggle to transcend all these differences. Freedom is the ultimate goal. Spiritual freedom, yes, but the social significance in this is just as unmistakable in the music of the Art Ensemble as in black Baptist hymns. Malachi Favors makes this clear: "Any aware black, that's got to be one of his main issues: freedom. It's got to be a part of whatever he does." ■

Topical song comes back

By Bill Warren

There is something new going on in the honorable tradition of topical song. With the feminist movement and singers like Holly Near, Margie Adams, and Meg Christian, topical music is now back at the center of emotional as well as political life. Now men searching for new ways to relate to each other and to women in the context of political change

have finally broken into song on *Walls to Roses: Songs of Changing men* (Folkways FTS 37587, 43 W. 61st St., NY, NY).

Unfortunately, the effort of the collective that came together from around the country under the prodding of Willie Sordill to produce their own songs is rather lopsided. Much of *Walls to Roses* gives a needed voice to the battles being fought by gay men, but men are changing in other ways too. Because women aren't

mentioned on the record, many myths aren't even exposed.

The short-lived and rather fragile collaboration is revealed in the tentative nature of the sound. The record is over-orchestrated in an attempt to make it saleable: the vocals are generally weak and the back-up lacks any catchy enthusiasm. Although you could dance to some of it, I'm not inclined to try.

There are exceptions. The cut I find myself humming is "Gay Spirit," for its high energy and affirming lines. Jeff Langley's title song, although hobbled by a chorus which included the words, "Golly-gee Moses," is a light, nicely executed chronicle of the roles men take on, concluding, "Well, I gotta tell you that I'm glad it's over/I've waited so long just to be your friend." In "The Sensitive Little Boy" Chris Tanner tries to do for gay men what Meg Christian did in "Leaping Lesbians": destroy myths with parody. But it comes out sounding arch and unlikely. Black-berri's reggae number stands out because its style and attitude are so different from the rest of the album—weary, laid-back and determined rather than strained and over-reaching.

Finally, Fred Small's song



Charlie King

about the death of nuclear worker Karen Silkwood, a successful experiment in a non-narrative ballad, is the most musically directed on the disk—and the odd "political" song. What's missing throughout this collection of men's music—the fact that the men live in a broader world.

Anti-nuke guitar.

Charlie King is closer to the traditional vein of political music. He's a singer with a guitar who can keep his musical wits about him in front of a restless rally crowd. Smoothly backed by Pat and Tex (who have a new release of their own), bass, fiddle, and some nice harp work by Court Dorsey, he sings folksy

low-key songs on his new album, *Somebody's Story* (Rainbow Snake Records, RSR 002, 94 N. Leverett Rd., Leverett, MA).

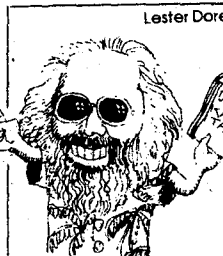
There's a difference here from the early 60s protest songs, the headline tunes that walked a frayed rope between self-righteousness and bad poetry and often seemed to confirm the dry category of "topical" music from the inside. Charlie writes in the first person. He carries us into the lives of the people in his stories. The most enchanting cut, "The Dancing Boilerman," tells of a man who beats job boredom by square-dancing through his rounds: "A quick do-si-do to those dials in a row/Check the pressure and allemande back."

Many of Charlie's songs have sneaky rhymes like, "Me, I'm just hangin' loose/Boycottin' orange juice," or, "No owner can outsmart me/With his Taft and his Hartley." Included is the anthem of the anti-nuclear Clamshell Alliance, "Acres of Clams," which Charlie penned to a standard tune in the best Joe Hill tradition. Some ballad lyrics, however, as in "Acceptable Risk," strain to make their point. "A Woman of Great Energy" is a slightly calypso song of support and happy determination for people who don't give up. And the last cut has the best line on the album: "Our life is more than our work/And our work is more than our jobs." ■

CULTURE SHOCK

GOOD INTENTIONS

A Harvard-based project on human sexual development, which interviewed 1400 parents with pre-school children, found that half the husbands said household chores should be shared. But 85 per cent of the men and 90 percent of the women said women do all or most household chores.



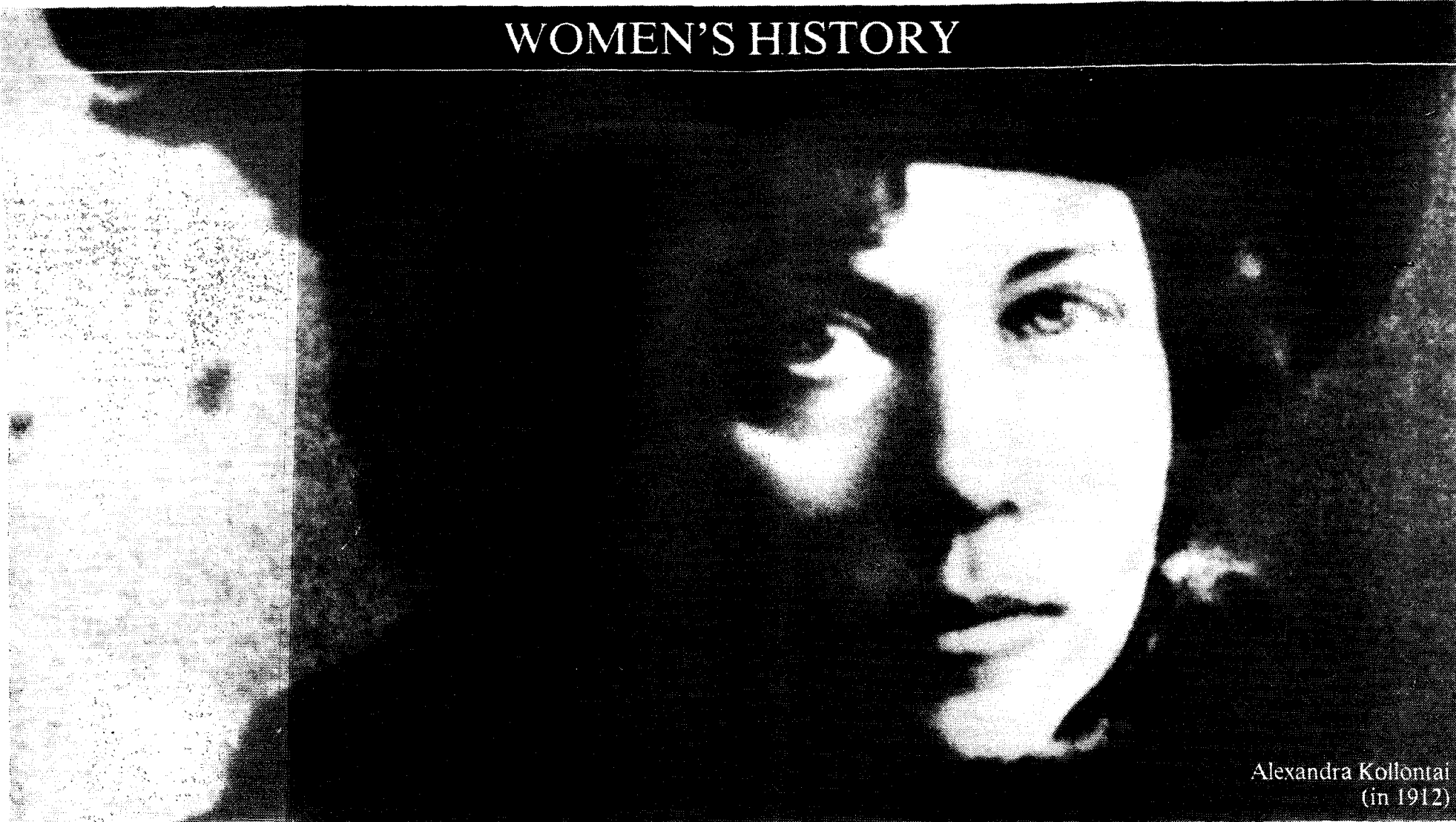
LIFE IS STRANGER

Bertell Ollman, the Marxist professor who designed and marketed the Class Struggle game, has sold his life story to Warner Brothers.

FAR OUT, A BLEEP!

At shift change, an Air Force missile crew commander discovered two marijuana cigarettes on the floor of the control room of an underground nuclear missile silo in Arizona, reports Zodiac News. This is the area where the crew is supposed to launch Titan II missiles in event of war.

WOMEN'S HISTORY

Alexandra Kollontai
(in 1912)

Life and stories of a Bolshevik feminist

LOVE OF WORKER BEES

By Alexandra Kollontai

Translated by Cathy Porter
Academy Press, \$11.95, \$5.00
(paper)**BOLSHEVIK FEMINIST**

By Barbara Evans Clements

Indiana University Press, \$15.00.

By Barbara Wilson

Alexandra Kollontai was one of the few Old Bolsheviks to die peacefully in her bed of old age. That she was able to survive the Stalin era, however, speaks less of her own intelligence and independence than of a combination of luck and diplomatic exile. As "Madame Kollontai," Soviet Ambassador to first Norway and then Sweden, she was hardly recognizable as the former fiery champion of women's rights within the Bolshevik Party.

Two recent books remind us of Kollontai's importance to feminism and radical history, both as a writer and as an organizer. One is a well-researched biography by Barbara Evans Clements, and the other is a re-issue of some of Kollontai's stories from the twenties, *Love of Worker Bees*.

Alexandra Kollontai was born, in 1872, into the segment of the Russian aristocracy that supported incipient revolutionaries. Kollontai married to suit herself, but left her husband and young son in 1898 to study Marxism in Zurich. Returning the next year to begin a political writing career, she was forced to flee arrest in 1908. She spent the next nine years abroad, engaging in political debates about the nature of the revolutionary state and woman's place in it. She did not call herself a feminist and, in fact, fought bitterly against the liberal feminist movement in Russia that seemed to advocate equality for women only within the capitalist system.

After the Revolution Kollontai continued to push for women's progress. In spite of her former opposition to separatism, Kollontai now advocated the formation of a women's bureau. She was made head in 1920. Although the rest of the party

saw the bureau as "a mere rallier of women to the cause," and many workers were suspicious of the bureau's aims, Kollontai devoted herself for several years to involving as many women as possible in it.

Lenin supported the bureau, but he and Kollontai differed on other occasions. She had been a Menshevik and had urged war against Germany, but her eventual downfall had its roots in her membership in the Workers' Opposition. With Shliapnikov and Medvedev, Kollontai spoke out against the increasing centralization and bureaucratization of the party.

Kollontai and the others were branded anarchists. The majority of the party sided with Lenin's desire for greater control and centralization, and the Workers' Opposition was eventually stamped out. In 1922 Kollontai was more or less forced out of the country to begin a career in diplomacy. She accepted this form of voluntary exile rather than break all ties with her revolutionary ideals. In the early twenties she tried her hand at fiction, but was discouraged from continuing because of the sexual content of her work.

Kollontai died in 1952, after 30 years of diplomacy and relative obscurity. After the late 20s she wrote no more. Her one diplomatic accomplishment was to promote peace between Finland and Russia.

Clements admirably outlines Kollontai's feminist thought and gives a new perspective to Bolshevik infighting. Her only fault

is in being a little too dry, much drier than Kollontai.

Emotional reality.

Clements dismissed the fiction Kollontai wrote during her first years of diplomatic exile. Yet the fiction more than the biography makes us understand the emotional reality of a woman living through the Soviet experiments.

Love of Worker Bees is one of two short story collections Kollontai published. It contains the novella "Vasilisa Malygina" and two short stories, "Three Generations" and "Sisters." All concern themselves with the fate of women, emotionally and economically, in the months after the Revolution. Unlike most of Russian fiction, they deal with women as frankly sexual beings—and, just as frankly, workers with a love and need for meaningful work.

The heroine of "Vasilisa Malygina" is an organizer whose husband, formerly a true friend and lover, is changing into a businessman in the heady days of the New Economic Policy, when the party invited back the bourgeoisie to run the factories. Vladimir and Vasilisa have often been separated by their work, but after an illness, she goes to convalesce at his house in another town. Vasilisa struggles to understand how her husband has changed and why he has betrayed her with another woman. Even the heroine's decision at the end to have her baby and raise it "collectively" comes naturally. More striking is Vasilisa's empathy for the woman

who has taken her husband away.

The bonds of sisterhood are a strong theme in both the other stories. In "Sisters" the main character finds she has much in common with the prostitute her husband brings home one night. And when she leaves her husband, she finds herself in almost the same economic position as the prostitute. "Three Generations" traces the love affairs of mother, daughter and granddaughter, each operating within a different social context and each operating as independently as she is able. Kollontai ends the

story wondering how the next generation will manage to find equality, love and independence.

Kollontai never minimizes the pressures and fears of change. It is not surprising that her books were outlawed during Stalin's time and are still not in print in the Soviet Union. Nor is it surprising that the stories still ring true today.

Barbara Wilson is a fiction writer and small press editor in Seattle. She has written for the *Northwest Passage*, *San Francisco Review of Books*, and the *Feminist Review of Books*.

In These Times covers
the labor movement from top to
bottom, from the big struggles
to the small. It can be expected
to give the kind of political cover-
age you can't find elsewhere.

I urge you to subscribe
to *In These Times*.

William Winpisinger
President International
Association of
Machinists



Send *IN THESE TIMES* for 4 trial months. Here's \$8.75.

Send me 48 bargain weeks of *IN THESE TIMES*. Here's \$19.00.

Bill me later.

Charge my: ☐ Visa ☐ Master Charge

Account number _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times 5615 W. Cermak Rd., Cicero, Ill. 60650

ST 92

DONALD SHAFFER
ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

Specialists in Pension
& Employee Benefit Planning11 Grace St.
Great Neck, N.Y. 10021
212-895-7005/516-466-4642

BOOKS

As literary critic, Irving Howe is a beacon of passion

CELEBRATIONS & ATTACKS

By Irving Howe
Horizon Press, \$14.95.

By Leonard Quart

Irving Howe is not only the editor of *Dissent* and the author of *World of Our Fathers*, but one of our best literary critics. In left political circles, Howe is mostly known as a combative, social democratic polemicist, reflexive anti-Communist and in the 60s a ferocious opponent of the New Left and counter-culture.

There is another Irving Howe: a literary critic whose work stands as a beacon of intellectual passion amid the antiseptic voices of most academic literary critics. Howe has written critical books on Faulkner, Hardy and Sherwood Anderson, but his most characteristic work was *Politics and the Novel*, a subtle study of what occurred to the imagination and vision of writers ranging from Stendhal to Silone when "subjected to the pressure of politics and political ideology."

His latest book is a collection of his occasional writings over the last 25 years. The reviews are mostly short, but always passionate and incisive. Howe warmly celebrates Richard Wright's gift for accumulating naturalistic detail in order "to shock and bruise" and his sardonic humor, and sees Wright's work as "one of the great American testaments, a crushing necessity to our moral life." In reviewing Doris Lessing's *Golden Notebook*, he sees that she understands how personal relations are shaped by history, and can be transformed into a new, secular religion.

The book also includes two longer essays. The first, an autobiographical piece, "Strangers," is suffused with Howe's pro-

found and loving feelings for the Jewish immigrant experience whose "heritage of communal affections and responsibilities" helped make him a Socialist rather than an Emersonian individualist. The essay also includes an appreciation of the "yoking of street raciness to high-culture mandarin" that Jewish-American writers brought to American prose style. Howe is interested in how a writer's language reflects his moral and cultural perspective.

The last essay, "Literature and Liberalism," is a sophisticated defense of liberal values (in the broadest sense) against all forms of absolutism. He equates liberalism with skepticism, doubt and balance, using it as a critical weapon against a modernist literature (e.g., Yeats, Lawrence and Pound) that either envisions the apocalypse or strains for transcendence.

Howe writes with a firm feeling for literary and historical complexity

Irving Howe does not argue for fashionable literary theories. He is a sober critic, whose writing often lacks a sense of play and personal voice, and in his affirmation of the "moderate virtues" he often adopts the absolutism of the "intoxicated" ideologues he so intensely abhors. Howe is, however, one of the few American literary critics who can write about literature with a firm feeling for historical and political complexity, and remembers that fiction is not an artifact but an imaginative art. ■



Irving Howe

Joseph Heller

Heller's sourness goes bland

GOOD AS GOLD

By Joseph Heller
Simon and Schuster, \$12.95.

By Barbara Quart

This is, for a while at least, a marvellously malicious book that comes out of middle-aged discontent, long years' accumulations of bile and envy. Heller maps this sour terrain with wit and intelligence—although he is unable to transmute the sourness into anything.

Bruce Gold, Heller's hero, is continually hoping to be lifted (by the White House, no less) out of his miserable life. He despises and is bored by his long-term all-enduring wife and his unpleasant children, and he longs to drop them all. He finds his elaborate network of extended kin a minefield that he enters repeatedly but always with dismay and guardedness. His deepest emotions are jealousy, the pain of denigration, and an intense desire for praise from whoever's on top.

Good As Gold presents this world with funny exaggeration, broad caricature, very different

from the more serious style of Heller's previous novel, *Something Happened*. *Good As Gold* is rich with brief amusing observations that shock a little with their candor and nastiness, on subjects ranging from an English Department curriculum, to plans to break a woman's spirit, to unsparing references to Gold's own rapacity and egotism. This is a book that believes in nothing and makes Mailer and Bellow look like archaically grand and noble romantics.

Heller's constellation of deadly domestic interaction involves combat and direct put-down. Gold sees himself as getting no respect at all—at least from his father and older brother Sid, from whom he most craves it.

The literary world, as seen by college friends in publishing or magazine work, parallels the family. Lieberman, a magazine editor probably modelled on Norman Podhoretz of *Commentary*, is also like Gold in his feelings of discontent, his indeterminate self-loathing sense of failure, and desperation for success. What might have been seen

as a kind of counter-culture moral outrage and anguish in *Catch 22* is revealed largely as nihilism here.

Heller's political allusions are direct, specific, and lengthy in this latest novel. And yet all politics is rendered valueless and absurd. Gold opposes both segregation and integration; he wants neither women nor homosexuals to be discriminated against and yet privately opposes equal rights for them. Racial discrimination is "atrocious, unjust," but at the same time "he knew in his heart that he much preferred it the old way, when he was safer."

His nihilism and protest are impotent. He subjects the outrageous structures through which he moves to verbal mockery, but beneath is acceptance, either a cynical or hopeless resignation, or a lust for approval.

Good as Gold is entertaining and talented, but it does not have the genius to overcome its lack of passion, of commitment to anything, its sourness and self-involvement, and the flawed though skillful form through which it expresses itself. ■

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

MARX—POULANTZAS—GRAMSCI: Extensive collection of Critical Theory & political economy titles. Mail orders & charge cards accepted. Free catalog. GREAT EXPECTATIONS BOOKSTORE, 911 Foster St., Evanston, Ill. 60201.

SEND FOR FREE back issues of Radical Teacher to: Box 102 Kendall Sq. P.O., Cambridge, Mass. 02142.

SAVE 10-35% ON ANY BOOK IN PRINT! Write for FREE BROCHURE. ABC, Box 1507/TT1, Kingston, Canada K7L 5C7.

BECOME A WINE EXPERT, in just a few issues of WINE, the most authoritative wine magazine (64 pages with color). Send \$9.00 for a year, or \$1.00 sample issue, to LES A PERIODICAL RETREAT has periodicals (including back issues) and books on the left, social change, alternative energy, and more. Visit our bookshop (336 1/2 S. State, Ann Arbor, Mich 48104) or write for our free newsletter and catalog. Tel. (313) 663-0215.

COVERTACTION INFORMATION BULLETIN. Philip Agee and others expose intelligence abuse, uncover covert operations and name names. One year, \$10; institutions \$15. CAIB, P.O. Box 50272, Washington, D.C. 20004.

EVENTS

ALL SUMMER! Dialogue on current issues at the White Mountain World Fellowship Center, Conway, New Hampshire 03818. Request brochure. (603) 477-2280.

HELP WANTED

EXECUTIVE PUBLISHER: In These Times seeks someone with business experience, preferably with publications, to supervise its finances and organize its fundraising efforts. Pay commensurate with experience. Send resume to Jan Czarnik, ITT, Chicago.

COORDINATOR, OTHER POSITIONS AVAILABLE, FOR Big Business Day, a national educational event to expose the effects of corporations on society and examine possible alternatives. Persons should have experience in public interest work, fundraising, publicity, and outreach. Salaries dependent on experience. Contact: Eric Kilburn, Americans Concerned About Corporate Power, 1755 "S" St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. (202) 332-9110.

THE FILM FUND, a national organization that supports the production and distribution of social change films and videotapes, is seeking a full-time staff person for its New York office. Serving as Assistant Director, responsibilities include

fundraising, management policy and program development, donor consultation, coordinating events and screenings. Two-year minimum commitment. Salary and benefits negotiable. Send resume (include political/independent film work) to: The Film Fund, 80 East 11th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003. Close date for application is August 10, 1979. STAFF PERSON NEEDED: Organization dealing with science and politics. Office work, outreach, magazine promotion. Political experience preferred. \$4/hr., 20 Preference to women and minorities. Contact SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE, 897 Main St., Cambridge MA 02139, 617-547-0370.

NEW YORK area—Volunteers needed for telephone coding and subscription soliciting for In These Times. Paid jobs available for experienced telephone marketers. Call George Carrano, 865-7638 or Jonathan Fisher, 255-7216.

STUDENTS: Sell subs to ITT on campus and keep \$4 per sub. Write or call Pat Vandermeer at ITT, Chicago.

DIRECTOR OF MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZING. Large, urban cooperative supermarket (\$80,000 sales/week) seeks person to develop and implement strategies for organizing staff of 5. Understanding political potential of coops essential. Experience in organizing, program

development and staff supervision required. Writing skills and fundraising experience preferred. Salary: \$225/week minimum. Job calls for unusual mix of skills and we are willing to pay accordingly. Send resume: Jeff Kilbreth, 1452 Boulevard, New Haven, Ct. 06511. Applicants should respond ASAP, deadline Sept. 1.

ORGANIZATIONS

CORPUS—National Association Resigned/Married Priests: Box 2649, Chicago 60690.

FOR SALE

"BOYCOTT SOUTH AFRICA!" bumpersticker in red, white, and blue. Give your support. Send \$1 to AFAA-4, P.O. Box 12262, Portland, Ore. 97212
23 UNIQUE co-operative games for home, school, church. Play together not against each other. Catalog 25¢, Family Pastimes (IT), R.R. 4, Perth, Ontario, Canada K7H3C6.
ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY bumperstickers, 3 colors. \$1.25. 2830 N.E. Davis, Portland, Oregon.
NO NUKES PARAPHERNALIA. "No Nukes" T-Shirt, \$5.50 (green on beige); rubber-stamp, Frisbee, \$2 each. "Karen Silkwood" T-Shirt, \$6, (white on black). S/M/L/XL, 100% cotton. Buttons, bumperstickers, 50¢ each. Free anti-nuke catalog.

Kate Donnelly, P.O. Box 271-IT, New Vernon, NJ 07976.

FEMINIST INTROSPECTIONS—Signed artist reproductions, priced below \$35.00! Brochure: Send 15¢ stamp to: Polymania, P.O. Box 26121, So. Portland, Me. 04106.

CORRESPONDENCE WANTED

Walter Chestnut 151818, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, Ohio 45699.

Joe Morris, #147-540, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

John L. Wright, #124-730, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

John Johnson, #39826, Box 1000, Steilacoom, WA 98388.

Thomas Eugene Sims, Box PMB #96038, Atlanta, GA 30315.

James Walter Sanders, 026418, P.O. Box 747, Starke, FL 32091.

M. Chappell, 150-801, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Duane P. Harris, #138632, Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Sam Burgard, 149-074, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Jessie J. Cowans, 152-294, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

CLASSIFIED RATES: 35¢ PER WORD PREPAID

SEND TO:
1509 N. MILWAUKEE AVE.
CHICAGO, IL 60622

THE MOST
INFLUENTIAL
NEW
FILMMAKERS
FORM A
GUILTY,
HIGH-TECH
OBSESSED
BOYS CLUB.



Brian DePalma



Steven Spielberg

Martin Scorsese

George Lucas

John Milius

Francis Coppola

THE FILM INDUSTRY

How the New Hollywood took shape

THE MOVIE BRATS

By Michael Pye and Lynda Miles
Holt, Rinehart and Winston,
\$5.95

AMERICAN FILM NOW

By James Monaco
Oxford University Press, \$19.95

By Pat Aufderheide

"People in the East pretend to be interested in how pictures are made, but if you actually tell them anything, you find they are only interested in *Colbert's* clothes or *Cable's* private life."

—F. Scott Fitzgerald

Popular art, in the age of mechanical reproduction, is also business—and it's done by committee. Two recent books admirably synthesize current trends in commercial feature filmmaking, and they both make a stab at a holistic analysis of this business-art. Although neither quite achieves its goals—something like trying to sing in three-part harmony by yourself—both books make valuable contributions to our understanding of movies in the 70s.

The Movie Brats is the more thoroughly argued of the two, and the more limited. It has a simple story: the old Hollywood wasn't destroyed by TV, but by a changing "lifestyle," that of suburbia. People chose to stay home, and TV was more appropriate than the movies were to their leisure plans. Old Hollywood never recognized the social change, and it ran out of both money and ideas.

The New Hollywood—represented here by six major directors, Francis Coppola, George Lucas, Brian DePalma, John Milius, Martin Scorsese and Steven Spielberg—was formed by children of the postwar affluent era. They are children, specifically, of two things: film, and suburban life. They are "cine-literate" and attuned to social concerns of middle-class moviegoers.

The book, which benefits from a clear writing style, is best in the medium range, tracing trade trends and pointing out links among the men whose work it analyzes. It shows the friendships knitting this group of filmmakers together. The "Brats" went to the same schools, they passed through American International Pictures' filmmaking training ground, they take care of each others' projects

today. Without tax shelters the financing of the Hollywood renaissance would not have been possible.

Unlike many awed critics of these filmmakers Pye and Miles point out the obvious. This is a boys' club, a white and macho one. Misogyny is a shared attitude in the group, from Scorsese's *Taxi Driver* to DePalma's *Carrie* to Lucas' *American Graffiti*. Irredeemable guilt preoccupies several, including the Catholic Scorsese, the existentialist Coppola, the brooding Calvinist scriptwriter Paul Schrader. DePalma admits his lack of interest in character development and his fascination with techniques of emotional manipulation. The authors demonstrate that Lucas and Spielberg's strengths and weaknesses share this pattern as well.

We might as well take these men and their styles, however self-important and self-obsessed, seriously. Hollywood does. The book's explanation for the "Brats'" success—their suburban angst and "cine-literacy"—explains even better the rise of a Michael Cimino (*Deer Hunter*), perhaps the best example of someone in command of cinematic expression with a vapid intellect and a lot of credit connections.

But the book promises more than it delivers. It claims to take us "inside the 'private grammar' of the movies." In fact, we never even learn what "cine-literacy" means, unless it means that these filmmakers tend toward technique rather than character and emotional effect rather than ideas.

The book's generalizations may be too simple. These six filmmakers comprise a troubled and fascinating core of commercial filmmaking today. But other people—Paul Mazursky and Woody Allen, to pick two—provide equally interesting and financially viable examples of style.

The book is weakest in its central argument on changes in postwar lifestyle. The authors easily say "people" and "Americans" when they mean the white middle class. They do not explain much with a phrase like, "Suburbia, unlike the cities, was an institution [what a shock for Lewis Mumford!], a way of life created and changed for the newly affluent survivors of the war."

This non-explanation then leads

into deeper waters, into the troubled line of causation between the filmmakers (not all of whom are Spock-bred suburban "superkids") and their artistic concerns (guilt, male heroics, sexual anxiety, childish adventure). It also leads to assessing the suburban hero of *Close Encounters* as a member of "the dispossessed," specifically a lower-middle-class man susceptible to millennial dreams because the American dream has failed him. The Dreyfus character may have extended his credit, but he is not dispossessed—he's not even repossessed, yet. He is, in fact, much closer to a Hollywood version of the consummate consumer than to a member of any productive class (and appropriately, he goes away in a skyborne Cuisinart).

The big picture.

American Film Now, by veteran film analyst (five books) James Monaco, presents the world of commercial feature films in the 1970s with a much broader brush, and describes a more diverse evolution. Like Pye and Myles, Monaco explains the industry's development primarily in terms of economic opportunities and choices. Unlike them, he chooses to survey the entire scene rather than to choose exemplars.

Like Pye and Myles, Monaco argues that some of the most stylistically influential filmmakers today are "cine-literate"—but he finds that the result is "cinema that is formally extraordinarily sophisticated at the same time that it is intellectually preadolescent."

He argues that film in the 70s has been dominated by nostalgia, for "any place but here, any time but now." He traces this pattern to financing practices that bet on the proven, on the familiar, on the "pre-sold." One of the most interesting aspects of Monaco's book is his demonstration that this era of the commercial blockbuster is also the era of the freelancer and the cottage industry for most aspects of film. The independence of the many is illusory; financing and production of films are divorced, but studios still set the terms.

Monaco suggests that the New Hollywood may become another Old Hollywood, unable to nurture a new generation of filmmakers before the collapse of

this renaissance. He argues that the "movie brats" in twenty years "may form a vaguely archaic establishment not unlike the one that dominated the old Hollywood through its decline in the 50s and early 60s." This will happen, he says, because of current investment in blockbusters.

Until the corporations that finance and control films are primarily in the business of making them, he says, we will get mindless, characterless, soulless entertainment, because that's where the safest investment is. He returns to a distinction made by Thorstein Veblen, between "industry" (in which someone makes something) and "business" (in which someone makes money. We should put all media, says Monaco, into the category of the fourth estate, and limit non-media as well as cross-media holdings of any media corporations. Film companies would make films, not insurance policies or hotels.

Monaco's sardonic sweep of the industry is energetic and informative. The book will be an important resource for years to come, especially for its filmographies of major directors, its 30-page Who's Who of industry personnel and its bibliography.

But Monaco's generalities too can get away from him. He claims, for instance, that "the most significant sociopolitical phenomenon of American film

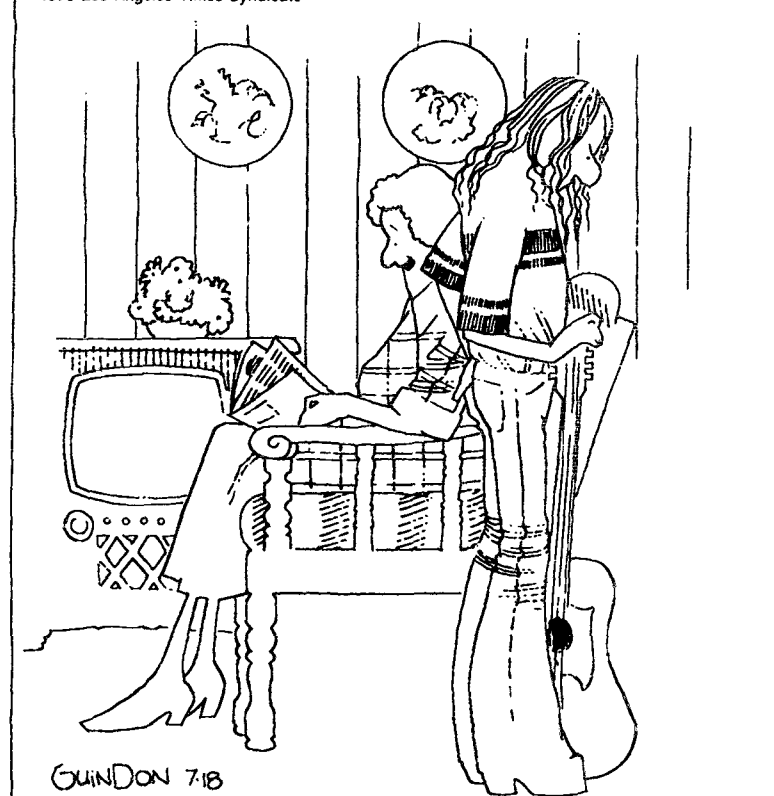
in the 70s has been the advent of black film," without explaining why, although his later chapter on black films provides a valuable sketch of their development. He claims that some special effects designers "have had a profound influence on movies in the 70s" without explaining what it is. And he catalogs names in elaborate typologies—say, producers—without explaining the process of, say, funding a film.

Finally, Monaco sometimes indulges in non-concepts, especially the word "myth." He uses it in the sense of an underlying theme, as in the "50s mythos" of "passive paranoia" and "revenge." This may be Hollywood jargon, but it should be censured, not passed on as a critical tool.

Most of us, these days, are "cine-literate." And we get more of our "concepts," our notions of current themes, through entertainment than we care, in daylight, to admit. It's easy to criticize films, so easy that Joan Didion can get points for likening film criticism to "petit point-on-Kleenex." But it's not easy to understand how those images that we let settle in our heads are conjured and conditioned.

We can use these two books, and more like them. Gable's private life just isn't enough to go into the 80s with. ■

© 1979 Los Angeles Times Syndicate



"That's nice. Who have you paid your dues to, dear?"

SURREAL SITCOM

By Al Auster

Each TV season anoints someone as the star. Two years ago it was Farrah Fawcett-Majors, then last year it was Suzanne (*Three's Company*) Sommers.

One key indicator of the star is poster sales. This year it wasn't teeth, hair or a beautiful body in a bikini that sold the most posters, but a young man with masses of brown hair and a face like a rubber ball, whose wardrobe consists of black and orange striped polo shirts, and who often wears ties and coats backward.

It's Robin Williams, the fabulous Mork from the Planet Ork.

The Man from Ork's wild humor is new to the rigid sitcom form. But the messages are more conventional than the style.



Mork and Mindy was the runaway hit of this year's TV season, and the major reason for its success was Williams. Although *Mork and Mindy* is supposed to be a situation comedy and has a good supporting cast (Pam Dawber, Conrad Janis, Elizabeth Kerr), the others merely frame Williams' madcap spritz of voices, characters, puns and one liners ("Reality, Wow, what a concept!").

Not only has Williams achieved overnight superstardom, but he has also officially become part of the zeitgeist.

Last December *The New York Times* headlined him as, "Robin Williams: Comedy for a Narcissistic Times." According to the *Times* Williams' brand of stream of consciousness comedy was a departure from the old stand-up comics (Bob Hope, Johnny Carson), the ethnic and childhood jokesters (Bill Cosby, Joan Rivers) and the "sick" or topical humorists (Mort Sahl, Lenny Bruce) of other decades.

Williams and the other comics often mentioned in the same breath with him—Steve Martin, Andy Kaufman, Martin Mull—parody old comedy forms (Martin, Kaufman), or they create characters who are so insufferable (Martin Mull's Garth and Barth Gimble and Kaufman's Tony Clifton) that they

parody themselves. Williams' act includes the Soviet comic Nicky Lenin who says things like, "Imperialism? Dots de vorst ting I ever heard"; or the effeminate evangelist Earnest Lee Sincere who promises his congregation a "bitchin disco time" and then proceeds to read a passage from the scripture that begins improbably with, "Two Jews walk into a bar..."

Although one can question Williams' originality (both Lily Tomlin and Richard Pryor do better evangelists), there is no question about his performing genius. Nevertheless, his contribution to TV humor may be dubious.

Williams' brand of comedy has been dubbed surreal by many, and Williams acknowledges as his master one of the geniuses at this form of comedy—Jonathan Winters. Indeed if TV humor has made any original contribution in the field of humor it was in the form of surreal comedy. Other TV comedy emerged from vaudeville (Milton Berle, Jackie Gleason), movie screwball comedy (Lucille Ball, Joan Davis) and radio serials (Jack Benny, Burns and Allen).

The early years of TV allowed for an improvisational visual and aural style that encouraged the talents of people like Sid Caesar, Imogene Coca, and Ernie Kovacs. Kovacs, the godfather of this style, peopled his show with bizarre characters (Percy Dovetonsils, Miklos Molnar, J. Walter Puppybreath) and wild situations: an automated office with water coolers that gurgled and file cabinets that sang like trumpets, or the White Rock girl taking a bath in ginger ale.

This brand of comedy also satirized pop culture (*Your Show of Shows* movie take-offs) and even poked fun at bourgeois conventions. For instance, Caesar and Coca as the cliché experts once did a routine as patients in a dentist's office that went like this: *Coca: I believe in getting a cavity filled right away. An ounce of prevention...you know is the best cure. Caesar: Oh, yes. Sometimes two ounces. Just hold it next to the tooth. Takes the pain right away.* Eventually this style found its way into the variety formats of shows like *Laugh-In*, *The Carol Burnett Show*, and *Saturday Night Live*.

The only comedy format seemingly impervious to surreal humor was the sitcom. Surreal comedy's satire, parody, and weird characters and situations have a subversive uncontrolled potential, while the sitcom, with problems that have to be solved in 27 minutes, standard characters, and a laugh track, is the essence of controlled humor.

However, with Williams' talents and a situation that places him outside the human context as an alien from another planet, surreal humor and the sitcom have finally meshed.

Unfortunately, on *Mork and Mindy* surreal comedy is being put to the service of conventional family-hour homilies like the necessity of feeling and the joys of motherhood. If this is what we can expect from the merger, then, to paraphrase one of Williams' Shakespeare parodies: "It is a consomme devoutly to be unwished." ■